ST.

OMINGO

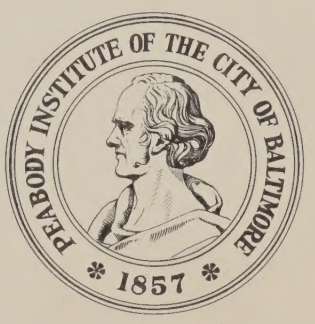
EDWARDS

972.93
E26g

1797

972.93
E26q
R.B.08

PEABODY INSTITUTE
· LIBRARY ·
BALTIMORE



972.93
E269

AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY

OF THE

FRENCH COLONY

IN THE

ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO:

COMPREHENDING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ITS ANCIENT GOVERNMENT,
POLITICAL STATE, POPULATION,
PRODUCTIONS, AND EXPORTS;

A NARRATIVE OF THE CALAMITIES WHICH HAVE DESOLATED
THE COUNTRY EVER SINCE THE YEAR 1789,

WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON THEIR CAUSES AND PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES;

AND

A DETAIL OF THE MILITARY TRANSACTIONS
OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THAT ISLAND TO THE END OF 1794.

BY *BRYAN EDWARDS*, ESQ. M.P. F.R.S. &c.
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1797.

73132

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL State of SAINT DOMINGO, *previous to the Year* 1789 - - - - Page 1

CHAP. II.

From the Revolution of 1789, *to the Meeting of the First General Colonial Assembly* - - - - - - 14

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the General Colonial Assembly until its final Dissolution, and Embarkation of the Members for France, August 1790 - - - - - - - 25

CHAP. IV.

Rebellion and Defeat of Ogé, a free Man of Colour - 39

CHAP. V.

Proceedings in France—Massacre of Colonel Mauduit in St. Domingo—and fatal Decree of the National Assembly of the 15*th May* 1791 - - - - - 51

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

Consequences in St. Domingo of the Decree of the 15th of May—Rebellion of the Negroes in the Northern Province, and Enormities committed by them—Revolt of the Mulattoes at Mirebalais—Concordat *or Truce between the Inhabitants of Port au Prince and the Men of Colour of the 11th of September—Proclamation by the National Assembly of the 20th of September* - 63

CHAP. VII.

Of the Motives which induced the People of Colour to join the revolted Negroes—Conduct of the British Association for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and of the Society in Paris called Les Amis des Noirs—*Letter from Abbé Gregoire to the People of Colour—Repeal of the Decree of the 15th May* 1791—*Effects of that Measure—Civil War with the Mulattoes renewed—Port au Prince destroyed by Fire—Cruelties exercised by both Parties—Arrival at Cape François of the Civil Commissioners* - - - - - - 81

CHAP. VIII.

Reception and Proceedings of the Civil Commissioners, and their Return to France—National Decree of the 4th of April 1792—*Appointment of a new Governor (Monf. Desparbes) and three other Commissioners (Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud)—Their Embarkation and Arrival, with a select Body of Troops—Their violent Proceedings—Appointment, by the Executive*

cutive Council, of M. Galbaud as Chief Governor, in the Room of Desparbes—His Arrival, and Disputes with the Commissioners—Both Parties proceed to Hostilities—The revolted Negroes called in to the Assistance of the Commissioners—A general Massacre of the White Inhabitants, and Conflagration of the Town of Cape François - - - - 102

CHAP. IX.

Situation, Extent, and general Description of St. Domingo—Origin of the French Colony, and Topographical Description of the several Provinces into which the French Possessions were divided—Their Population, and Produce—Shipping and Exports—Compared with the Returns of Jamaica - - 122

CHAP. X.

Emigrations—Overtures to the British Government accepted—Situation and Strength of the Republican Party in St. Domingo, and Disposition of the Inhabitants—Negro Slavery abolished by the French Commissioners—Armament allotted for the Invasion of the Country—Surrender of Jeremie and the Mole at Cape St. Nicholas—Unsuccessful Attempt on Cape Tiburon—Further Proceedings of the British Army until the Arrival of General Whyte—Capture of Port au Prince - - - 139

CHAP. XI.

Sickness among the Troops, and the Causes thereof—Reinforcement—Dreadful Mortality—General Whyte is succeeded by Brigadier General

CONTENTS.

General Horneck—Leogane taken by the Rebels—Temporary Succeſſes of Lieutenant-Colonel Briſbane at Artibonite—Revolt of the Mulattoes at St. Marc—Attack of Fort Bizotton—Preparations by Rigaud for a ſecond Attempt on Tiburon—The Poſt attacked on Chriſtmas Day, and carried—Gallant Defence and Eſcape of the Garriſon, and melancholy Fate of Lieutenant Baſkerville—Lieutenant-Colonels Briſbane and Markham killed—Obſervations and Strictures on the Conduct of the War 161

CHAP. XII.

Ancient State of the Spaniſh Colony—The Town of St. Domingo eſtabliſhed by Bartholomew Columbus in 1498*—Pillaged by Drake in* 1586*—Conjectures and Reflections concerning its preſent Condition, and the State of Agriculture in the interior Country—Numbers and Character of the preſent Inhabitants—Their Animoſity towards the French Planters, and Jealouſy of the Engliſh—Conjectures concerning the future Situation of the whole Iſland; and ſome concluding Reflections* - 177

Tableau du Commerce et de Finances de la Partie Françoiſe de St. Domingue - - - - - 195

Additional Tables - - - - 206

Additional Notes and Illuſtrations - - - 213

PREFACE.

SOON after I had publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies, I conceived the deſign of compiling a general account of the ſettlements made by all the nations of Europe in that part of the New Hemiſphere, but more particularly the French, whoſe poſſeſſions were undoubtedly the moſt valuable and productive of the whole Archipelago. This idea ſuggeſted itſelf to my mind, on ſurveying the materials I had collected with regard to their principal colony in St. Domingo; not doubting, as the fortune of war had placed under the Britiſh dominion all or moſt of the other French iſlands, that I ſhould eaſily procure ſuch particulars of the condition, population, and culture of each, as would enable me to complete my deſign, with credit to myſelf, and ſatisfaction to the Publick. I am ſorry to obſerve, that in this expectation I

have hitherto found myſelf diſappointed. The preſent publication therefore, is confined wholly to St. Domingo; concerning which, having perſonally viſited that unhappy country ſoon after the revolt of the negroes in 1791, and formed connexions there, which have ſupplied me with regular communications ever ſince, I poſſeſs a maſs of evidence, and important documents. My motives for going thither, are of little conſequence to the Publick; but the circumſtances which occaſioned the voyage, the reception I met with, and the ſituation in which I found the wretched Inhabitants, cannot fail of being intereſting to the reader; and I flatter myſelf that a ſhort account of thoſe particulars, while it confers ſome degree of authenticity on my labours, will not be thought an improper Introduction to my book.

In the month of September 1791, when I was at Spaniſh Town in Jamaica, two French Gentlemen were introduced to me, who were juſt arrived from St. Domingo, with information that the negro ſlaves belonging to the French part of that iſland, to the number, as was believed, of 100,000 and upwards, had

had revolted, and were ſpreading death and deſolation over the whole of the northern province. They reported that the governor-general, conſider ng the ſituation of the colony as a common cauſe among the white inhabitants of all nations in the Weſt Indies, had diſpatched commiſſioners to the neighbouring iſlands, as well as to the States of North America, to requeſt immediate aſſiſtance of troops, arms, ammunition, and proviſions; and that themſelves were deputed on the ſame errand to the Government at Jamaica: I was accordingly deſired to preſent them to the Earl of Effingham, the commander in chief. Although the diſpatches with which theſe gentlemen were furniſhed, were certainly a very ſufficient introduction to his lordſhip, I did not heſitate to comply with their requeſt; and it is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that the liberal and enlarged mind which animated every part of Lord Effingham's conduct, needed no ſolicitation, in a caſe of beneficence and humanity. Superior to national prejudice, he felt, as a man and a chriſtian ought to feel, for the calamities of *fellow men*; and he ſaw, in its full extent, the danger to which every iſland in the Weſt Indies would be expoſed from ſuch an

example, if the triumph of ſavage anarchy over all order and government ſhould be complete. He therefore, without heſitation, aſſured the commiſſioners that they might depend on receiving from the government of Jamaica, every aſſiſtance and ſuccour which it was in his power to give. Troops he could not offer, for he had them not; but he ſaid he would furniſh arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and he promiſed to conſult with the diſtinguiſhed Officer commanding in the naval department, concerning the propriety of ſending up one or more of his Majeſty's ſhips; the commiſſioners having ſuggeſted that the appearance in their harbours of a few veſſels of war might ſerve to intimidate the inſurgents, and keep them at a diſtance, while the neceſſary defences and intrenchments were making, to preſerve the city of Cape François from an attack.

Admiral Affleck (as from his known worth, and general character might have been expected) very cheerfully co-operated on this occaſion with Lord Effingham; and immediately iſſued orders to the captains of the Blonde and Daphne frigates to proceed,

ceed, in company with a ſloop of war, forthwith to Cape François. The Centurion was ſoon afterwards ordered to Port au Prince. The Blonde being commanded by my amiable and lamented friend Captain William Affleck, who kindly undertook to convey the French commiſſioners back to St. Domingo, I was eaſily perſuaded to accompany them thither; and ſome other gentlemen of Jamaica joined the party.

We arrived in the harbour of Cape François in the evening of the 26th of September, and the firſt object which arreſted our attention as we approached, was a dreadful ſcene of devaſtation by fire. The noble plain adjoining the Cape was covered with aſhes, and the ſurrounding hills, as far as the eye could reach, every where preſented to us ruins ſtill ſmoking, and houſes and plantations at that moment in flames. It was a ſight more terrible than the mind of any man, unaccuſtomed to ſuch a ſcene, can eaſily conceive.—The inhabitants of the town being aſſembled on the beach, directed all their attention towards us, and we landed amidſt a crowd of ſpectators who, with uplifted hands and ſtreaming eyes, gave welcome to their deliverers (for ſuch they conſidered us) and acclamations of *vivent les Anglois* reſounded from every quarter.

The

The governor of St. Domingo, at that time, was the unfortunate General Blanchelande; a *marechal de camp* in the French ſervice, who has ſince periſhed on the ſcaffold. He did us the honour to receive us on the quay. A committee of the colonial aſſembly, accompanied by the governor's only ſon, an amiable and accompliſhed youth *, had before attended us on board the Blonde, and we were immediately conducted to the place of their meeting. The ſcene was ſtriking and ſolemn. The hall was ſplendidly illuminated, and all the members appeared in mourning. Chairs were placed for us within the bar, and the Governor having taken his ſeat on the right hand of the Preſident, the latter addreſſed us in an eloquent and affecting oration, of which the following is as literal a tranſlation as the idiom of the two languages will admit:

"We were not miſtaken, Gentlemen, when we placed our confidence in your generoſity; but we could hardly entertain the hope, that, beſides ſending us

* This young gentleman likewiſe periſhed by the guillotine under the tyranny of Roberſpierre. He was maſſacred at Paris, on the 20th July 1794, in the twentieth year of his age.

ſuccours, you would come in perſon to give us conſolation. You have quitted, without reluctance, the peaceful enjoyment of happineſs at home, to come and participate in the misfortunes of ſtrangers, and blend your tears with our's. Scenes of miſery (the contemplation of which, to thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to misfortune, is commonly diſguſting) have not ſuppreſſed *your* feelings. You have been willing to aſcertain the full extent of our diſtreſſes, and to pour into our wounds the ſalutary balm of your ſenſibility and compaſſion.

" The picture which has been drawn of our calamities, you will find has fallen ſhort of the reality. That verdure with which our fields were lately arrayed, is no longer viſible; diſcoloured by the flames, and laid waſte by the devaſtations of war, our coaſts exhibit no proſpect but that of deſolation. The emblems which we wear on our perſons, are the tokens of our grief for the loſs of our brethren, who were

were ſurpriſed, and cruelly aſſaſſinated, by the revolters.

" It is by the glare of the conflagrations that every way ſurround us, that we now deliberate; we are compelled to ſit armed and watchful through the night, to keep the enemy from our ſanctuary. For a long time paſt our boſoms have been depreſſed by ſorrow; they experience this day, for the firſt time, the ſweet emotions of pleaſure, in beholding you amongſt us.

" Generous iſlanders! humanity has operated powerfully on your hearts;—you have yielded to the firſt emotion of your generoſity, in the hopes of ſnatching us from death; for it is already too late to ſave us from miſery. What a contraſt between *your* conduct, and that of other nations! We will avail ourſelves of your benevolence; but the days you preſerve to us, will not be ſufficient to manifeſt our

our gratitude: our children ſhall keep it in remembrance.

" REGENERATED France, unapprized that ſuch calamities might befal us, has taken no meaſures to protect us againſt their effects: with what admiration will ſhe learn, that, without your aſſiſtance, we ſhould no longer exiſt as a dependency to any nation.

" THE Commiſſioners deputed by us to the iſland of Jamaica, have informed us of your exertions to ſerve us.—Receive the aſſurance of our attachment and ſenſibility.

" THE Governor-general of this iſland, whoſe ſentiments perfectly accord with our own, participates equally in the joy we feel at your preſence, and in our gratitude for the aſſiſtance you have brought us."

AT this juncture, the French coloniſts in St. Domingo, however they might have been divided in

political ſentiments on former occaſions, ſeemed to be ſoftened, by the ſenſe of common ſuffering, into perfect unanimity. All deſcriptions of perſons joined in one general outcry againſt the National Aſſembly, to whoſe proceedings were imputed all their diſaſters. This opinion was indeed ſo widely diſſeminated, and ſo deeply rooted, as to create a very ſtrong diſpoſition in all claſſes of the whites, to renounce their allegiance to the mother country. The black cockade was univerſally ſubſtituted in place of the tri-coloured one, and very earneſt wiſhes were avowed in all companies, without ſcruple or reſtraint, that the Britiſh adminiſtration would ſend an armament to conquer the iſland, or rather to receive its voluntary ſurrender from the inhabitants. What they wiſhed might happen, they perſuaded themſelves to believe was actually in contemplation; and this idea ſoon became ſo prevalent, as to place the author of this work in an awkward ſituation. The ſanguine diſpoſition obſervable in the French character, has been noticed by all who have viſited them; but in this caſe their credulity grew to a height that was extravagant and even ridiculous. By the kindneſs of the Earl of Effingham,

Effingham, I was favoured with a letter of introduction to the Governor-general; and my reception, both by M. Blanchelande and the colonial aſſembly, was ſuch as not only to excite the publick attention, but alſo to induce a very general belief that no common motive had brought me thither. The ſuggeſtions of individuals to this purpoſe, became perplexing and troubleſome. Aſſurances on my part, that I had no views beyond the gratification of curioſity, had no other effect than to call forth commendations on my prudence. It was ſettled, that I was an agent of the Engliſh miniſtry, ſent purpoſely to ſound the inclinations of the Coloniſts towards the government of Great Britain, preparatory to an invaſion of the country by a Britiſh armament; and their wiſhes and inclinations co-operating with this idea, gave riſe to many ſtrange applications which were made to me; ſome of them of ſo ludicrous a nature, as no powers of face could eaſily withſtand.

This circumſtance is not recorded from the vain ambition of ſhewing my own importance. The reader of the following pages will diſcover its application; and, perhaps, it may induce him to make ſome

allowance for that confident expectation of ſure and ſpeedy ſucceſs, which afterwards led to attempts, by the Britiſh arms, againſt this ill-fated country, with means that muſt otherwiſe have been thought at the time,—as in the ſequel they have unhappily proved, —altogether inadequate to the object in view.

The ravages of the rebellion, during the time that I remained at Cape François, extended in all directions. The whole of the plain of the Cape, with the exception of one plantation which adjoined the town, was in ruins; as were likewiſe the Pariſh of Limonade, and moſt of the ſettlements in the mountains adjacent. The Pariſh of Limbé was every where on fire; and before my departure, the rebels had obtained poſſeſſion of the bay and forts at l'Acul, as well as the diſtricts of Fort Dauphin, Dondon, and La Grande Riviere.

Destruction every where marked their progreſs, and reſiſtance ſeemed to be conſidered by the whites not only as unavailing in the preſent conjuncture, but as hopeleſs in future. To fill up the meaſure of

of their calamities, their Spaniſh neighbours in the ſame iſland, with a ſpirit of bigotry and hatred which is, I believe, without an example in the world, refuſed to lend any aſſiſtance towards ſuppreſſing a revolt, in the iſſue of which common reaſon ſhould have informed them, that their own preſervation was implicated equally with that of the French. They were even accuſed not only of ſupplying the rebels with arms and proviſions; but alſo of delivering up to them to be murdered, many unhappy French planters who had fled for refuge to the Spaniſh territories, and receiving money from the rebels as the price of their blood. Of theſe latter charges, however, no proof was, I believe, ever produced; and, for the honour of human nature, I am unwilling to believe that they are true.

To myſelf, the caſe appeared altogether deſperate from the beginning; and many of the moſt reſpectable and beſt informed perſons in Cape François (ſome of them in high ſtations) aſſured me, in confidence, that they concurred in this opinion. The merchants and importers of European manufactures, apprehending every hour the deſtruction of the town,

as

as much from incendiaries within, as from the rebels without, offered their goods for ready money at half the uſual prices; and applications were made to Captain Affleck, by perſons of all deſcriptions, for permiſſion to embark in the Blonde for Jamaica. The interpoſition of the colonial government obliged him to reject their ſolicitations; but means were contrived to ſend on board conſignments of money to a great amount; and I know that other conveyances were found, by which effects to a conſiderable value were exported both to Jamaica, and the ſtates of North America.

Under theſe circumſtances, it very naturally occurred to me to direct my enquiries towards the ſtate of the colony previous to the revolt, and collect authentick information on the ſpot, concerning the primary cauſe, and ſubſequent progreſs, of the widely extended ruin before me. Strongly impreſſed with the gloomy idea, that the only memorial of this once flouriſhing colony would ſoon be found in the records of hiſtory, I was deſirous that my own country and fellow-coloniſts, in lamenting its cataſtrophe, might at the ſame time profit by ſo terrible an example.

example. My means of information were too valuable to be neglected, and I determined to avail myself of them. The Governor-general furniſhed me with copies of all the papers and details of office that I ſolicited, with a politeneſs that augmented the favour. The fate of this unhappy gentleman, two years afterwards, gave me infinite concern. Like his royal maſter, he was unfortunately called to a ſtation to which his abilities were not competent; and in times when perhaps no abilities would have availed him.

The Preſident of the colonial aſſembly, at the time of my arrival, was M. de Caducſh, who ſome time afterwards took up his reſidence, and held an important office, in Jamaica. He was a man of very diſtinguiſhed talents, and withal ſtrongly and ſincerely attached to the Britiſh government, of which, if it were proper, I could furniſh unqueſtionable proof *. This gentleman drew up, at my requeſt, a ſhort account of the origin and progreſs of the re-

* He afterwards accompanied General Williamſon back to St. Domingo, and was killed (or, as I have heard, baſely murdered) in a duel at Port au Prince, by one of his countrymen.

bellion;

bellion; and after my return to England, favoured me with his correſpondence. Many important facts, which are given in this work, are given on his authority.

To M. Delaire, a merchant of conſideration in the town of the Cape, who has ſince removed, I believe, to the ſtate of South Carolina, I was indebted for a ſimilar narrative, drawn up by himſelf in the Engliſh language, of which he is a very competent maſter. It is brief, but much to the purpoſe; diſplays an intimate knowledge of the concerns of the colony, and traces, with great acuteneſs, its diſaſters to their ſource.

But the friend from whoſe ſuperior knowledge I have derived my chief information in all reſpects, is the gentleman alluded to in the marginal note to p. 112 of the following ſheets; and I ſincerely regret, that ill-fortune has ſo purſued him as to render it improper in this work to expreſs to him, *by name*, the obligations I owe to his kindneſs. After a narrow eſcape from the vengeance of thoſe mercileſs men, Santhonax and Polverel, he was induced to re-

turn to St. Domingo, to look after his property; and, I grieve to ſay, that he is again fallen into the hands of his enemies. He found means, however, previous to his preſent confinement, to convey to me many valuable papers; and, among others, a copy of that moſt curious and important document, the dying depoſition or teſtament of Ogè, mentioned in the fourth chapter, and printed at large among the additional notes and illuſtrations at the end of my work. Of this paper (the communication of which, in proper time, would have prevented the dreadful ſcenes that followed) although I had frequently heard, I had long doubted the exiſtence. Its ſuppreſſion by the perſons to whom it was delivered by the wretched ſufferer, appeared to be an act of ſuch monſtrous and unexampled wickedneſs, that, until I ſaw the paper itſelf, I could not credit the charge. Whether M. Blanchelande was a party concerned in this atrocious proceeding, as my friend aſſerts, I know not. If he was guilty, he has juſtly paid the forfeit of his crime; and although, believing him innocent, I mourned over his untimely fate, I ſcruple not to avow my opinion, that if he had poſſeſſed a thouſand lives, the loſs of them all had not been a ſufficient

atonement, in ſo enormous a caſe, to violated juſtice!

Such were the motives that induced me to undertake this Hiſtorical Survey of the French part of St. Domingo, and ſuch are the authorities from whence I have derived my information concerning thoſe calamitous events which have brought it to ruin. Yet I will frankly confeſs, that, if I have any credit with the publick as an author, I am not ſure this work will add to my reputation. Every writer muſt riſe or ſink, in ſome degree, with the nature of his ſubject; and on this occaſion, the picture which I ſhall exhibit, has nothing in it to delight the fancy, or to gladden the heart. The proſpects before us are all dark and diſmal. Here is no room for tracing the beauties of unſullied nature. Thoſe groves of perennial verdure; thoſe magnificent and romantick landſcapes, which, in tropical regions, every where invite the eye, and oftentimes detain it, until wonder is exalted to devotion, muſt now give place to the miſeries of war, and the horrors of peſtilence; to ſcenes of anarchy, deſolation, and carnage. We have to contemplate the human mind in its utmoſt

deformity: to behold ſavage man, let looſe from reſtraint, exerciſing cruelties, of which the bare recital makes the heart recoil, and committing crimes which are hitherto unheard of in hiſtory; teeming

> —— all monſtrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worſe
> Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd!
>
> MILTON.

ALL therefore that I can hope and expect is, that my narrative, if it cannot delight, may at leaſt *inſtruct*. On the ſober and conſiderate, on thoſe who are open to conviction, this aſſemblage of horrors will have its effect. It will expoſe the lamentable ignorance of ſome, and the monſtrous wickedneſs of others, among the reformers of the preſent day, who, urging onwards ſchemes of perfection, and projects of amendment in the condition of human life, faſter than nature allows, are lighting up a conſuming fire between the different claſſes of mankind, which nothing but human blood can extinguiſh. To tell ſuch men that great and beneficial modifications in the eſtabliſhed orders of ſociety, can only be effected by a progreſſive improvement in the

ſituation of the lower ranks of the people, is to preach to the winds. In their hands reformation, with a ſcythe more deſtructive than that of time, mows down every thing, and plants nothing. Moderation and caution they conſider as rank cowardice. Force and violence are the ready, and, in their opinion, the only proper application for the cure of early and habitual prejudice. Their practice, like that of other mountebanks, is bold and compendious; their motto is, *cure or kill.*

These reflections neceſſarily ariſe from the circumſtance which is incontrovertibly proved in the following pages, namely, that the rebellion of the negroes in St. Domingo, and the inſurrection of the mulattoes, to whom Ogè was ſent as ambaſſador, had one and the ſame origin. It was not the ſtrong and irreſiſtible impulſe of human nature, groaning under oppreſſion, that excited either of thoſe claſſes to plunge their daggers into the boſoms of unoffending women and helpleſs infants. They were driven into thoſe exceſſes—reluctantly driven—by the vile machinations of men calling themſelves philoſophers (the proſelytes and imitators in France, of the Old

Jewry aſſociates in London) whoſe pretences to philanthropy were as groſs a mockery of human reaſon, as their conduct was an outrage on all the feelings of our nature, and the ties which hold ſociety together!

It is indeed true, that negro-rebellions have heretofore ariſen in this and other iſlands of the Weſt Indies, to which no ſuch exciting cauſes contributed:—but it is equally certain, that thoſe rebellions always originated among the newly-imported negroes only; many of whom had probably lived in a ſtate of freedom in Africa, and had been fraudulently, or forcibly, ſold into ſlavery by their chiefs. That caſes of this kind do ſometimes occur in the ſlave trade, I dare not diſpute, and I admit that revolt and inſurrection are their natural conſequences.

But, in St. Domingo, a very conſiderable part of the inſurgents were—not Africans, but—Creoles, or natives. Some of the leaders were favoured domeſticks among the white inhabitants, born and brought up in their families. A few of them had even received thoſe advantages, the perverſion of which,

under

under their philoſophical preceptors, ſerved only to render them pre-eminent in miſchief; for having been taught to read, they were led to imbibe, and enabled to promulgate, thoſe principles and doctrines which led, and always will lead, to the ſubverſion of all government and order.

Let me not be underſtood, however, as affirming that nothing is to be attributed on this occaſion to the ſlave-trade. I ſcorn to have recourſe to concealment or falſhood. Unqueſtionably, the vaſt annual importations of enſlaved Africans into St. Domingo, for many years previous to 1791, had created a black population in the French part of that iſland, which was, beyond all meaſure, diſproportionate to the white;—the relative numbers of the two claſſes being as ſixteen to one. Of this circumſtance the leaders of the rebels could not be unobſervant, and they doubtleſs derived encouragement and confidence from it. Here too, I admit, is a warning and an admonition to ourſelves. The inference has not eſcaped me:—it conſtitutes my parting words with the reader, and I hope they are not urged in vain.

Having

HAVING thus pointed out the motives which induced me to write the following narrative; the ſources from whence my materials are derived, and the purpoſes which I hope will be anſwered by the publication; nothing farther remains but to ſubmit the work itſelf to the judgment of my readers, which I do with a reſpectful ſolicitude.

LONDON,
December, 1796.

ERRATA.

Page 3, line 4, for *its*, read *the*.
4, note (a) for *ordonateur*, read *ordonnateur*.
5, line 16, for 52, read *fifty-one*.
10, line 8, from the bottom: dele the words *enſlaved Negroes*, and place them in the margin. The paſſage, as it now ſtands, is wholly unintelligible.
11, line 1, for *attending this*, read *attending it*.
13, laſt line but one: read *the chief aim*.
20, line 2, for *in the metropolis*, read *of the metropolis*.
24, line 4, for *in excluſion*, read *to the excluſion*.
49, laſt line; for *Machiavilian*, read *Machiavelian*.
86, line 1, for *apprized*, read *believing*.
109, line 2, for *eight*, read *ſix*.
——line 9, after *governor*, inſert *accompanied by a fleet of thirty tranſports*.
132, line 10, for *fourteen*, read *ſixteen*.
135, line 5, from the bottom: after the word *freighted*, inſert *for Europe*.
152, line 1, inſtead of *the whole of that extenſive bay*, read *the windward paſſage, and the whole of that extenſive bay*.

A SHORT

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH Colony in ST. DOMINGO, &c.

CHAP. I.

Political State of ST. DOMINGO *previous to the Year* 1789.

CHAP. I. Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of the French part of St. Domingo, as of all the Weſt Indian Iſlands, were compoſed of three great claſſes: 1ſt, pure whites. 2d, people of colour, and blacks of free condition. 3d, negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery. The reader is appriſed that the claſs which, by a ſtrange abuſe of language, is called *people of colour*, originates from an intermixture of the whites and the blacks. The genuine offspring of a pure white with a negro is called a mulatto; but there are various caſts, produced by ſubſequent connections, ſome of which draw near to the whites, until all viſible diſtinction between them is loſt; whilſt others fall retrograde to the blacks. All theſe were known in St. Domingo by the term *ſang-melées*, or *gens de couleur*, (in com-

 mon

CHAP. I.

mon parlance they are collectively called *mulattoes)* and it must be attributed, I presume, to the greater discountenance which the married state receives from the national manners, that in all the French islands these people abound in far greater proportion to the whites than in those of Great Britain. In Jamaica, the whites out-number the people of colour as three to one. In St. Domingo, the whites were estimated at 30,000, the mulattoes at 24,000, of whom 4,700 were men capable of bearing arms, and accordingly, as a distinct people, actuated by an *esprit de corps*, they were very formidable. Of the policy which it was thought necessary in St. Domingo to maintain towards this unfortunate race, I shall presently treat; but it seems proper, in the first place, to give some account of the subordination in which, before the revolution of 1789, the parent country thought fit to hold the colony at large.

The government was exercised by a Governor General, and an officer called Intendant, both of whom were nominated by the crown, on the recommendation of the minister of the marine, and generally considered as established in their respective offices for three years. Their powers, in some cases, were administered jointly; in others, they possessed separate and distinct authority, which each of them exercised without the concurrence or participation of the other.

In their joint administration their powers were unlimited; comprehending every part of colonial government, and extending even to detail, in the minutest branches of finance and police. They enacted the laws, nominated to all vacant offices, and

CHAP. I.

and diſtributed the crown lands as they thought proper. They reſpectively preſided at the ſame time in each of the ſupreme councils, or courts of juſtice in the dernier reſort; and as vacancies happened in thoſe courts, by the death or removal of its members, they filled up the vacant places. Againſt the abuſe of powers, thus extravagant and unbounded, the people had no certain protection. Fortunately, it was rare that the governor and intendant agreed in opinion on the exerciſe of their joint authority, which therefore became neceſſarily relaxed; and the inhabitants derived ſome degree of ſecurity from the diſputes and diſſenſions of the contending parties. In all ſuch caſes, however, the greateſt weight of authority fell to the ſhare of the governor. He was, in truth, an abſolute prince, whoſe will, generally ſpeaking, conſtituted law. He was authorized to impriſon any perſon in the colony, for cauſes of which he alone was the judge; and having at the ſame time the ſupreme command of both the naval and military force, he had the means of exerciſing this power whenever he thought proper. On the other hand, no arreſt, by any other authority, was valid without the governor's approbation. Thus he had power to ſtop the courſe of juſtice, and to hold the courts of civil and criminal juriſdiction in a ſlaviſh dependance on himſelf.

The peculiar province of the intendant was that of regulating the publick revenues, or adminiſtering the finances of the colony. The collectors and receivers of all duties and taxes were ſubject to his inſpection and controul. He paſſed or rejected their accounts, and made them ſuch allowances as he

CHAP. I.

alone thought proper. The application of all the publick monies reſted entirely with the intendant; — a province which created ſuch temptation to himſelf as no virtue could reſiſt, and furniſhed ſuch means of corruption, as overcame all oppoſition from others *(a)*.

For the better adminiſtration of juſtice, and the eaſier collection of the revenues, the colony was divided into three provinces; which were diſtinguiſhed, from their relative ſituation, by the names of the Northern, the Weſtern and Southern. In each of theſe provinces reſided a deputy governor, or commander *en ſecond*, and in each were eſtabliſhed ſubordinate courts of juſtice, both civil and criminal; from whoſe determination appeals were allowed to the ſuperior councils, of which there were two; one at *Cape François* for the Northern province, the other at *Port au Prince* for the Weſtern and Southern. They were compoſed of the governor-general, the intendant, the deputy governors, the king's lieutenants *(b)*, a preſident,

(a) The taxes and duties were laid and modified, as occaſion required, by a court compoſed of the governor general, the intendant, the preſidents of the provincial councils, the attorney general, the commiſſioner of the navy *(ordonateur)* and the ſeveral commandants of the militia. This court was dignified by the title of the *Colonial Aſſembly*, although the coloniſts had not a ſingle delegate in it.

(b) Theſe king's lieutenants were military officers reſiding in the ſeveral towns, commonly with the rank of colonel. There were alſo in each town *majors* and *aides-major*. All theſe officers were wholly independent of the civil power, and owned no ſuperior but the governor-general, who could diſmiſs them at pleaſure. It may be proper to obſerve too that the counſellors held their ſeats by a very uncertain tenure. One of the governors (the Prince de Rohan) ſent the whole number ſtate priſoners to France. They were ſeized on their ſeats of juſtice, and put on board a ſhip in irons, and in that condition conveyed to Paris, and ſhut up for a long time in the Baſtile, without trial or hearing.

and

and twelve counſellors, four *aſſeſſeurs*, or aſſiſtant judges, together with the attorney general and regiſter. In theſe councils, or courts of ſupreme juriſdiction, as in the parliaments of France, the king's edicts, and thoſe of the governor and intendant, were regiſtered. Seven members conſtituted a quorum for the hearing of appeal cauſes; but a hint from the governor-general was always ſufficient to render much inveſtigation unneceſſary: and it is aſſerted (with what truth I pretend not to determine) that, beſides their ſlaviſh dependance on the executive power, the members of theſe courts were notoriouſly and ſhamefully open to corruption and bribery. An appeal however lay to the king, in the laſt reſort; and candour compels me to obſerve that, on ſuch appeals, ſubſtantial juſtice was generally obtained *(c)*.

THE number of the king's troops on the colonial eſtabliſhment was commonly from 2 to 3,000 men; and each of the 52 pariſhes into which the colony was divided raiſed one or more companies of white militia, a company of mulattoes, and a company of free blacks. The officers, both of the regular troops and the militia, were commiſſioned proviſionally by the governor-general, ſubject to the king's approbation; but the militia received no pay of any kind.

FROM this recapitulation, it is evident that the peace and happineſs of the people of St. Domingo depended very much on

(c) In the year 1787 theſe two ſuperior councils were conſolidated into one, which held its meetings at Port au Prince, this city being the ſeat of government *in time of peace*. In the event of a war, the governor-general removed to Cape François. The true, though not the oſtenſible, reaſon for this junction of the council boards, was an idea that a ſingle board would be found more tractable in the regiſtry of edicts and ordinances than two ſeparate juriſdictions.

the

CHAP. I.

the perſonal qualities and native diſpoſition of the governor-general, who was always ſelected from the army. At the ſame time it muſt be honeſtly admitted, that the liberality and mildneſs, which of late years have dignified and ſoftened the military character among all the nations of Europe, had a powerful influence in the adminiſtration of the government in the French colonies. It muſt be allowed alſo, that the manifeſt importance to which, as mankind become diveſted of ancient prejudices, the commercial part of the community, even among the French, has imperceptibly riſen, inſured to the wealthy and opulent planters a degree of reſpect from perſons in power, which, in former times, attached only to noble birth and powerful connections; while the lower orders among the whites derived the ſame advantage from that unconquerable diſtinction which nature herſelf has legibly drawn between the white and black inhabitants; and from their viſible importance, in a country where, from the diſproportion of the whites to the blacks, the common ſafety of the former claſs depends altogether on their united exertions.

To contend, as ſome philoſophers have idly contended, that no natural ſuperiority can juſtly belong to any one race of people over another, to Europeans over Africans, merely from a difference of colour, is to waſte words to no purpoſe, and to combat with air. Among the inhabitants of every iſland in the Weſt Indies, it is the colour, with ſome few exceptions, that diſtinguiſhes freedom from ſlavery: ſo long therefore as freedom ſhall be enjoyed excluſively by one race of people, and ſlavery be the condition of another, contempt and degradation

will attach to the colour by which that condition is generally recognized, and follow it, in ſome degree, through all its varieties and affinities. We may trace a ſimilar prejudice among the moſt liberal and enlightened nations of Europe. Although nothing ſurely ought to reflect greater luſtre on any man than the circumſtance of his having riſen by induſtry and virtue above the diſadvantages of mean birth and indigent parentage, there are, nevertheleſs, but few perſons in the world who delight to be reminded of this ſpecies of merit. There is a conſciouſneſs of ſomething diſgraceful in the recollection; and it ſeems therefore reaſonable to conclude, that if nature had made the ſame diſtinction in this caſe as in the other, and ſtamped, by an indelible mark, the condition and parentage on the forehead, the ſame, or nearly the ſame, effect would have reſulted from it, as reſults from the difference of colour in the Weſt Indies. I mean however only to account for in ſome degree, not to defend, the conduct of the whites of St. Domingo towards the coloured people; whoſe condition was in truth much worſe than that of the ſame claſs in the Britiſh colonies, and not to be juſtified on any principle of example or reaſon.

Free Mulattoes.

In many reſpects their ſituation was even more degrading and wretched than that of the enſlaved negroes in any part of the Weſt Indies; all of whom have maſters that are intereſted in their preſervation, and many of whom find in thoſe maſters powerful friends and vigilant protectors. Although releaſed from the dominion of individuals, yet the free men of colour in all the French iſlands were ſtill conſidered as the property of the publick, and as publick property they were obnoxious to the

CHAP. I.

the caprice and tyranny of all thoſe whom the accident of birth had placed above them. By the colonial governments they were treated as ſlaves in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; compelled, on attaining the age of manhood, to ſerve three years in a military eſtabliſhment called the *maréchauſſée (e)*, and on the expiration of that term they were ſubject, great part of the year, to the burthen of the *corvées*;—a ſpecies of labour allotted for the repair of the highways, of which the hardſhips were inſupportable. They were compelled moreover to ſerve in the militia of the province or quarter to which they belonged, without pay or allowance of any kind, and in the horſe or foot, at the pleaſure of the commanding officer; and obliged alſo to ſupply themſelves, at their own expence, with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements. Their days of muſter were frequent, and the rigour with which the King's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, enforced their authority on thoſe occaſions over theſe people, had degenerated into the baſeſt tyranny.

They were forbidden to hold any publick office, truſt, or employment, however inſignificant; they were not even allowed to exerciſe any of thoſe profeſſions, to which ſome ſort of liberal education is ſuppoſed to be neceſſary. All the naval and military departments, all degrees in law, phyſick, and divinity, were appropriated excluſively by the whites. A mulatto could not

(e) It conſiſted of certain companies of infantry, which were chiefly employed *as rangers* in clearing the woods of *maron* or runaway ſlaves. This eſtabliſhment was afterwards very prudently diſſolved, and the companies diſbanded; it appearing that the mulattoes acquired, by communication with each other, a ſenſe of common intereſt and of common ſtrength, which was beginning to render them formidable to their employers.

be

be a prieſt, nor a lawyer, nor a phyſician, nor a ſurgeon, nor an apothecary, nor a ſchoolmaſter. Neither did the diſtinction of colour terminate, as in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, with the third generation. There was no law, nor cuſtom, that allowed the privileges of a white perſon to any deſcendant from an African, however remote the origin. The taint in the blood was incurable, and ſpread to the lateſt poſterity. Hence no white man, who had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to character, would ever think of marriage with a negro or mulatto woman: ſuch a ſtep would immediately have terminated in his diſgrace and ruin.

UNDER the preſſure of theſe accumulated grievances, hope itſelf, too frequently the only ſolace of the wretched, was denied to theſe unfortunate people; for the courts of criminal juriſdiction, adopting the popular prejudices againſt them, gave effect and permanency to the ſyſtem. A man of colour being proſecutor (a circumſtance in truth which ſeldom occurred) muſt have made out a ſtrong caſe indeed, if at any time he obtained the conviction of a white perſon. On the other hand, the whites never failed to procure prompt and ſpeedy juſtice againſt the mulattoes. To mark more ſtrongly the diſtinction between the two claſſes, the law declared that if a free man of colour preſumed to ſtrike a white perſon of whatever condition, his right hand ſhould be cut off; while a white man, for a ſimilar aſſault on a free mulatto, was diſmiſſed on the payment of an inſignificant fine.

IN extenuation of this horrible detail, it may be ſaid with truth that the manners of the white inhabitants ſoftened, in

CHAP. I.

ſome meaſure, the ſeverity of their laws: thus, in the caſe laſt mentioned, the univerſal abhorrence which would have attended an enforcement of the penalty, made the law a dead letter. It was the ſame with the Roman law of the Twelve Tables, by which a father was allowed to inflict the puniſhment of death on his own child:—manners, not law, prevented the exertion of a power ſo unnatural and odious.

But the circumſtance which contributed moſt to afford the coloured people of St. Domingo protection, was the privilege they poſſeſſed of acquiring and holding property to any amount. Several of them were the owners of conſiderable eſtates; and ſo prevalent was the influence of money throughout the colony, that many of the great officers in the adminiſtration of government ſcrupled not ſecretly to become their penſioners. Such of the coloured people therefore as had happily the means of gratifying the venality of their ſuperiors, were ſecure enough in their perſons; although the ſame circumſtance made them more pointedly the objects of hatred and envy to the lower orders of the whites.

The next enſlaved negroes, and loweſt, claſs of people in the French iſlands were the negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery; of whom, in the year 1789, St. Domingo contained no leſs than 480,000. It was in favour of this claſs that Louis XIV. in the year 1685, publiſhed the celebrated edict, or code of regulations, which is well known to the world under the title of the *Code Noir*; and it muſt be allowed, that many of its proviſions breathe a ſpirit of tenderneſs and philanthropy which reflects honour on the memory of its

CHAP. I.

author;—but there is this misfortune attending this, and muſt attend all other ſyſtems of the ſame nature, that moſt of its regulations are inapplicable to the condition and ſituation of the colonies in America. In countries where ſlavery is eſtabliſhed, the leading principle on which government is ſupported, is *fear*; or a ſenſe of that abſolute coercive neceſſity, which, leaving no choice of action, ſuperſedes all queſtion of *right*. It is in vain to deny that ſuch actually is, and neceſſarily muſt be, the caſe in all countries where ſlavery is allowed. Every endeavour therefore to extend poſitive rights to men in this ſtate, as between one claſs of people and the other, is an attempt to reconcile inherent contradictions, and to blend principles together which admit not of combination. The great and, I am afraid, the only certain and permanent ſecurity of the enſlaved negroes, is the ſtrong circumſtance that the intereſt of the maſter is blended with, and in truth, altogether depends on, the preſervation, and even on the health, ſtrength, and activity, of the ſlave. This applies equally to all the European colonies in America; and accordingly the actual condition of the negroes in all thoſe colonies, to whatever nation they belong, is I believe nearly the ſame. Of that condition I have given an account in another place *(f)*: I have therefore only to obſerve in this, that in all the French iſlands the general treatment of the ſlaves is neither much better nor much worſe, as far as I could obſerve, than in thoſe of Great Britain. If any difference there is, I think that they are better clothed among the French, and allowed more animal food among the Engliſh. The prevalent notion that the French planters treat

(f) Hiſt. Civil and Commercial of the Britiſh Colonies.

CHAP. I.

their negroes with greater humanity and tenderneſs than the Britiſh, I know to be groundleſs; yet no candid perſon, who has had an opportunity of ſeeing the negroes in the French iſlands, and of contraſting their condition with that of the peaſantry in many parts of Europe, will think them, by any means, the moſt wretched of mankind.

On the whole, if human life, in its beſt ſtate, is a combination of happineſs and miſery, and we are to conſider that condition of political ſociety as relatively good, in which, notwithſtanding many diſadvantages, the lower claſſes are eaſily ſupplied with the means of healthy ſubſiſtence; and a general air of cheerful contentedneſs animates all ranks of people,—where we behold opulent towns, plentiful markets, extenſive commerce, and increaſing cultivation—it muſt be pronounced that the government of the French part of St. Domingo (to whatever latent cauſes it might be owing) was not altogether ſo practically bad, as ſome of the circumſtances that have been ſtated might give room to imagine. With all the abuſes ariſing from the licentiouſneſs of power, the corruption of manners, and the ſyſtem of ſlavery, the ſcale evidently preponderated on the favourable ſide; and, in ſpite of political evils and private grievances, the ſigns of publick proſperity were every where viſible.

Such were the condition and ſituation of the French colony in St. Domingo in the year 1788—an eventful period; for the ſeeds of liberty which, ever ſince the war between Great Britain and her tranſatlantick poſſeſſions, had taken root in the kingdom of France, now began to ſpring up with a rank luxuriancy in all parts

CHAP. I.

parts of her extenſive dominions; and a thouſand circumſtances demonſtrated that great and important changes and convulſions were impending. The neceſſity of a ſober and well-digeſted arrangement for correcting inveterate abuſes, both in the mother country and the colonies, was indeed apparent; but, unhappily, a ſpirit of ſubverſion and innovation, founded on viſionary ſyſtems inapplicable to real life, had taken poſſeſſion of the publick mind. Its effects in St. Domingo are written in colours too laſting to be obliterated; for the pride of power, the rage of reformation, the contentions of party, and the conflict of oppoſing intereſts and paſſions, produced a tempeſt that ſwept every thing before it.

To trace thoſe effects to their proper cauſes, to develop the atrocious purpoſes of pretended philanthropy, political fanaticiſm, and diſappointed ambition; and to deſcribe the vaſt and lamentable ruin which they occaſioned, thereby to furniſh a profitable leſſon to other nations, is the aim of the following pages.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Revolution of 1789, *to the Meeting of the Firſt General Colonial Aſſembly.*

CHAP. II.

ON the 27th of December 1788, the court of France came to the memorable determination to ſummon the States General of the kingdom; and reſolved that the repreſentation of the *tiers état* (or commons) ſhould be equal to the ſum of the repreſentation of the other two orders.

THIS meaſure, as might have been foreſeen, proved the baſis of the great national revolution that followed; and it operated with immediate and deciſive effect in all the French colonies. The governor of the French part of St. Domingo at that period was Monſ. Duchilleau, a man who was ſuppoſed ſecretly to favour the popular pretenſions. He was allowed therefore to continue unmoleſted in the ſeat of government; but the ſceptre dropped from his hand; for when he attempted to prevent the parochial and provincial meetings, which were every where ſummoned, from aſſembling, his proclamations were treated with indignity and contempt: the meetings were held in ſpite of the governor, and reſolutions paſſed declaratory of the right of the coloniſts to ſend deputies to the States General. Deputies were accordingly elected

elected for that purpoſe, to the number of eighteen (ſix for each province) who forthwith, without any authority either from the French miniſtry or the colonial government, embarked for France, as the legal repreſentatives of a great and integral part of the French empire.

THEY arrived at Verſailles the latter end of June, about a month after the States General had declared themſelves the national aſſembly. But neither the miniſter nor the national aſſembly were diſpoſed to admit the full extent of their claims. The number of eighteen deputies from one colony was thought exceſſive; and it was with ſome difficulty that ſix of them only were admitted to verify their powers, and ſeat themſelves among the national repreſentatives. 1789.

THERE prevailed at this time throughout the cities of France, a very ſtrong and marked prejudice againſt the inhabitants of the Sugar Iſlands, on account of the ſlavery of their negroes. It was not indeed ſuppoſed, nor even pretended, that the condition of theſe people was worſe at this juncture than in any former period: the contrary was known to be the truth. But declamations in ſupport of perſonal freedom, and invectives againſt deſpotiſm of all kinds, had been the favourite topicks of many eminent French writers for a ſeries of years: and the publick indignation was now artfully raiſed againſt the planters of the Weſt Indies, as one of the means of exciting commotions and inſurrections in different parts of the French dominions. This ſpirit of hoſtility againſt the inhabitants of the French colonies, was induſtriouſly fomented and aggravated by the meaſures of a ſociety, who called themſelves

CHAP. II.

ſelves *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks); and it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſplendid appearance, and thoughtleſs extravagance, of many of the French planters reſident in the mother country, contributed by no means to divert the malice of their adverſaries, or to ſoften the prejudices of the publick towards them.

The ſociety in France called *Amis des Noirs*, was I believe originally formed on the model of a ſimilar aſſociation in London; but the views and purpoſes of the two bodies had taken a different direction. The ſociety in London *profeſſed* to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legiſlature for prohibiting the further introduction of African ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies. They diſclaimed all intention of interfering with the government and condition of the negroes already in the plantations; publickly declaring their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of thoſe people, in their preſent ſtate of ignorance and barbarity, inſtead of a bleſſing, would prove to them a ſource of misfortune and miſery. On the other hand, the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*, having ſecretly in view to ſubvert the ancient deſpotiſm of the French government, loudly clamoured for a general and immediate abolition, not only of the ſlave trade, but alſo of the ſlavery which it ſupported. Proceeding on abſtract reaſoning, rather than on the actual condition of human nature, they diſtinguiſhed not between civilized and uncivilized life, and conſidered that it ill became them to claim freedom for themſelves, and withhold it at the ſame time from the negroes: it is to be lamented that a principle ſo plauſible in appearance,

appearance, ſhould, in its application to this caſe, be viſionary and impracticable. CHAP. II.

At this juncture, a conſiderable body of the mulattoes from St. Domingo and the other French iſlands, were reſident in the French capital. Some of theſe were young people ſent thither for education: others were men of conſiderable property, and many of them, without doubt, perſons of intelligence and amiable manners. With theſe people the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* formed an intimate connection; pointed out to them the wretchedneſs of their condition; filled the nation with remonſtrances and appeals on their behalf; and poured out ſuch invectives againſt the white planters, as bore away reaſon and moderation in the torrent. Unhappily, there was too much to offer on the part of the mulattoes. Their perſonal appearance too, excited pity, and, co-operating with the temper of the times, and the credulity of the French nation, raiſed ſuch an indignant ſpirit in all ranks of people againſt the white coloniſts, as threatened their total annihilation and ruin.

In this diſpoſition of the people of France towards the inhabitants of their colonies in the Weſt Indies, the national aſſembly, on the 20th day of Auguſt, voted the celebrated *declaration of rights*; and thus, by a revolution unparalleled in hiſtory, was a mighty fabrick (apparently eſtabliſhed by every thing that was ſecure and unaſſailable) overturned in a moment. Happy had it been for the general intereſts of the human race, if, when the French had gone thus far, they had proceeded no farther! Happy for themſelves, if they had then known—what painful ex- 1789.

CHAP. II.

perience has ſince taught them—that the worſt of all governments is preferable to the miſeries of anarchy!

PERHAPS a diligent obſerver might have diſcovered, even in the firſt proceedings of this celebrated aſſembly, the latent ſeeds of that violence, injuſtice, and confuſion which have ſince produced ſuch a harveſt of crimes and calamities. Many of the doctrines contained in the declaration of rights ſeem to have been introduced for no other purpoſe than to awaken a miſchievous ſpirit of contention and cavil, and to deſtroy all ſubordination in the lower ranks of the people. Such, for inſtance, was the poſition, that "all men are born, and continue, free and "equal as to their rights;" according to which, there ought to be no diſtinctions in ſociety, nor (if the poſſeſſion of property is *a right*) can any man have a right to poſſeſs or acquire any thing to the excluſion of others; a poſition not only falſe, but pernicious, and unfit for every condition of civilized life. To promulgate ſuch leſſons in the colonies, as the declared ſenſe of the ſupreme government, was to ſubvert the whole ſyſtem of their eſtabliſhments. Accordingly, a general ferment prevailed among the French inhabitants of St. Domingo, from one end of the colony to the other. All that had paſſed in the mother country concerning the coloniſts,—the prejudices of the metropolis towards them,—the efforts of the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* to emancipate the negroes,—and the conduct of the mulattoes,—had been repreſented to them through the medium of party, and perhaps with a thouſand circumſtances of exaggeration and inſult, long before the declaration of rights was received in the colony; and this meaſure crowned the whole.

They maintained that it was calculated to convert their peaceful and contented negroes into implacable enemies, and render the whole country a theatre of commotion and bloodſhed. CHAP. II.

In the meanwhile, the French government, apprehenſive that diſorders of a very alarming nature might ariſe in the colonies from the proceedings in France, had iſſued orders to the governor general of St. Domingo, to convoke the inhabitants, for the purpoſe of forming a legiſlative aſſembly for interior regulation. Theſe orders, however, being unaccountably delayed, the people had anticipated the meaſure. The inhabitants of the Northern diſtrict had already conſtituted a provincial aſſembly, which met at Cape François, and their example was followed in November in the Weſtern and Southern provinces; the Weſtern aſſembly met at Port au Prince, the Southern at *Aux Cayes*. Parochial committees were, at the ſame time, every where eſtabliſhed, for the ſake of a more immediate communication between the people and their repreſentatives. Sept. 1789.

A RECITAL of the conduct and proceedings of theſe provincial aſſemblies, would lead me too much into detail. They differed greatly on many important queſtions; but all of them concurred in opinion concerning the neceſſity of a full and ſpeedy colonial repreſentation; and they unanimouſly voted, that if inſtructions from the king for calling ſuch an aſſembly ſhould not be received within three months thenceforward, the colony ſhould take on itſelf to adopt and enforce the meaſure;—their immediate ſafety and preſervation being, they ſaid, an obligation paramount to all others.

CHAP. II.

DURING this period of anxiety and alarm, the mulattoes were not inactive. Inſtructed by their brethren in the metropolis in the nature and extent of their rights, and apprized of the favourable diſpoſition of the French nation towards them, they became, throughout the colony, actuated by a ſpirit of turbulence and ſedition; and diſregarding all conſiderations of prudence, with regard to time and ſeaſons, determined to claim, without delay, the full benefit of all the privileges enjoyed by the whites. Accordingly large bodies of them appeared in arms in different parts of the country; but acting without ſufficient concert, or due preparation, they were eaſily overpowered. It is ſaid, that the temper of the provincial aſſemblies at this juncture,—how much ſoever inflamed againſt the inſtigators and abettors of theſe people in the mother country,—was not averſe to moderation and conceſſion towards the mulattoes themſelves. Thus, when the party which had taken arms at *Jacmel* was defeated, and their chiefs impriſoned, the aſſembly of the Weſt interpoſed with effect in favour of the whole number; and at *Artibonite*, where the revolt was much more extenſive and alarming, a free and unconditional pardon was alſo chearfully granted on the ſubmiſſion of the inſurgents.

AGAINST ſuch of the whites as had taken any part in theſe diſturbances, in favour of the people of colour, the rage of the populace knew no limits. Monſ. *Dubois*, deputy *procureur general*, had not only declared himſelf an advocate for the mulattoes, but, with a degree of imprudence which indicated inſanity, ſought occaſions to declaim publickly againſt the ſlavery of

of the negroes. The Northern aſſembly arreſted his perſon, and very probably intended to proceed to greater extremities; but the governor interpoſed in his behalf, obtained his releaſe, and ſent him from the country. CHAP. II.

MONS. *Ferrand de Beaudierre*, a magiſtrate at *Petit Goave*, was not ſo fortunate. This gentleman was unhappily enamoured of a woman of colour, to whom, as ſhe poſſeſſed a valuable plantation, he had offered marriage. Apprehenſive that by this ſtep he might be diſplaced from the magiſtracy, and being a man of a warm imagination, with little judgment, he undertook to combat the prejudices of the whites againſt the whole claſs. He drew up, in the name and behalf of the mulatto people, a memorial to the parochial committee, wherein, among other things, they were made to claim, in expreſs words, the full benefit of the national declaration of rights. Nothing could be more ill-timed or injudicious than this proceeding: it was evident, that ſuch a claim led to conſequences of which the mulattoes themſelves (who certainly at this juncture had no wiſh to enfranchiſe the ſlaves) were not apprized. This memorial therefore was conſidered as a ſummons to the negroes for a general revolt. The parochial committee ſeized the author, and committed him to priſon; but the mob took him from thence by force, and in ſpite of the magiſtrates and municipality, who exerted themſelves to ſtop their fury, put him to death.

THE king's order for convoking a general colonial aſſembly was received in St. Domingo early in the month of January 1790. It appointed the town of *Leogane*, in the Weſtern province, January 1790.

CHAP. II.

vince, for the place of meeting; and inſtructions accompanied the order, concerning the mode of electing the members. Theſe inſtructions, however, being conſidered by the provincial aſſemblies as inapplicable to the circumſtances of the colony, were diſapproved; and another plan, better ſuited, as they conceived, to the wealth, territory, and population of the inhabitants, was adopted. They reſolved alſo to hold the aſſembly at the town of *St. Marc* inſtead of *Leogane*, and the 25th of March was fixed for the time of its meeting. It was afterwards prorogued to the 16th of April.

In the meanwhile intelligence was received in France of the temper of St. Domingo towards the mother country. The inhabitants were very generally repreſented as manifeſting a diſpoſition either to renounce their dependency, or to throw themſelves under the protection of a foreign power; and the planters of Martinico were ſaid to be equally diſcontented and diſaffected. The trading and manufacturing towns took the alarm; and petitions and remonſtrances were preſented from various quarters, imploring the national aſſembly to adopt meaſures for compoſing the minds of the coloniſts, and preſerving to the French empire its moſt valuable dependencies.

On the 8th of March 1790, the national aſſembly entered into the conſideration of the ſubject, with a ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity ſuited to its importance; and, after full diſcuſſion, a very large majority voted, "That it never was the intention of "the aſſembly to comprehend the interior government of the co-"lonies in the conſtitution which they had framed for the mother "country,

" country, or to ſubject them to laws which were incompatible " with their local eſtabliſhments; they therefore authoriſe the in- " habitants of each colony to ſignify to the national aſſembly their " ſentiments and wiſhes concerning that plan of interior legiſla- " tion and commercial arrangement, which would be moſt con- " ducive to their proſperity." It was required, however, that the plan to be offered ſhould be conformable to the principles which had connected the colonies with the metropolis, and be calculated for the preſervation of their reciprocal intereſts.—To this decree was annexed a declaration, " That the national aſſembly " would not cauſe any innovation to be made, directly or indi- " rectly, in any ſyſtem of commerce in which the colonies were " already concerned."

NOTHING could equal the clamour which this decree occaſioned among the people of colour reſident in the mother country, and the philanthropick ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*. The declaration concerning commerce was interpreted into a tacit ſanction for the continuance of the ſlave trade; and it was even contended, that the national aſſembly, by leaving the adjuſtment of the colonial conſtitutions to the coloniſts themſelves, had diſcharged them from their allegiance. It was ſaid that they were no longer ſubject to the French empire, but members of an independent ſtate.

NEVERTHELESS, if the circumſtances of the times, and the diſpoſition of the French coloniſts at this juncture, be taken into the account, candour muſt acknowledge that it was a decree not only juſtifiable on the motives of prudence and policy, but

was

CHAP. II.

was founded alſo on the ſtrong baſis of moral neceſſity. The arguments that were urged againſt it ſeem to imply that the benefits of the French revolution were intended only for the people reſiding in the realm, in excluſion of their fellow ſubjects in the plantations. After that great event, to ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of thoſe colonies (with the ſucceſsful example too of the Engliſh Americans recent in their memories) would have ſubmitted to be governed and directed in their local concerns by a legiſlature at the diſtance of 3,000 miles from them, is to manifeſt a very ſlender acquaintance with human nature. How little inclined the colonial aſſembly was to ſuch ſubmiſſion, their proceedings, from the firſt day of their meeting, to their final diſſolution, will demonſtrate.—Of thoſe proceedings I ſhall endeavour to furniſh a brief account in the next Chapter.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the General Colonial Aſſembly until its final Diſſolution, and Embarkation of the Members for France, Auguſt 1790.

CHAP. III. 1790.

THE General Aſſembly of St. Domingo met on the 16th of April, at the town of *St. Marc*. It was compoſed of 213 members, of whom the city of *Cape François* elected twenty-four, *Port au Prince* ſixteen, and *Aux Cayes* eight. Moſt of the other pariſhes returned two repreſentatives each; and it is allowed that, on the whole, the colony was fairly, fully, and moſt reſpectably repreſented. The provincial aſſemblies, however, continued in the exerciſe of their functions as before, or appointed committees to act during their intermiſſion.

THE ſeſſion was opened by a diſcourſe from the preſident, wherein, after recounting various abuſes in the conſtitution and adminiſtration of the former colonial government, he pointed out ſome of the many great objects that ſeemed to require immediate attention: among others, he recommended the caſe of the mulattoes, and a melioration of the ſlave laws. The aſſembly concurred in ſentiment with the orator; and one of their firſt meaſures was to relieve the people of colour from the hardſhips to which they were ſubject under the military juriſdiction. It

CHAP. III.

was decreed, that in future no greater duty ſhould be required of them in the militia than from the whites; and the harſh authority, in particular, which the king's lieutenants, majors, and aides-major, commanding in the towns, exerciſed over thoſe people, was declared oppreſſive and illegal. Theſe acts of indulgence were certainly meant as the earneſt of greater favours, and an opening to conciliation and conceſſion towards the whole claſs of the coloured people.

THE general aſſembly proceeded, in the next place, to rectify ſome groſs abuſes which had long prevailed in the courts of judicature, confining themſelves however to ſuch only as called for immediate redreſs, their attention being chiefly directed to the great and intereſting object of preparing the plan for a new conſtitution, or ſyſtem of colonial government; a buſineſs which employed their deliberations until the 28th of May.

1790.

M. PEYNIER was now governor general, from whom the partizans and adherents of the ancient deſpotiſm ſecretly derived encouragement and ſupport. The whole body of tax-gatherers, and officers under the fiſcal adminiſtration, were of this number. Theſe therefore began to recover from the panick into which ſo great and ſudden a revolution had thrown them, and to rally their united ſtrength. Nothing could be more oppoſite to their wiſhes, than the ſucceſs of the general aſſembly in the eſtabliſhment of order and good government throughout the colony. Nor were theſe the only men who beheld the proceedings of this body with an evil eye. All the perſons belonging to the courts of civil and criminal juriſdiction (and their numbers were

conſiderable) who were intereſted in the maintenance of thoſe abuſes which the aſſembly had corrected, were filled with indignation and envy. To theſe were added moſt of the men who held military commiſſions under the king's authority. Habituated to the exerciſe of command, they indignantly beheld the ſubverſion of all that accuſtomed obedience and ſubordination which they had been taught to conſider as eſſential to the ſupport of government, and offered themſelves the willing inſtruments of the governor general in ſubverting the new ſyſtem.

Such were the perſons that oppoſed themſelves to the new order of things in the colony, when the Chevalier Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince, arrived at St. Domingo. He had not come directly from France, but circuitouſly by way of Italy; and at Turin had taken leave of the Count d'Artois, to whoſe fortunes he was ſtrongly attached. He was a man of talents; brave, active, and enterprizing; zealous for his party, and full of projects for a counter-revolution. By his dexterity and addreſs, he ſoon acquired an aſcendancy over the feeble and narrow genius of Peynier, and governed the colony in his name. His penetration eaſily made him diſcover that, in order effectually to diſturb the new ſettlement, it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent a coalition of intereſts between the colonial aſſembly, and the free people of colour. He therefore proclaimed himſelf the patron and protector of the mulattoes, and courted them on all occaſions, with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, as gained over the whole body.

CHAP. III.

It ſeems however extremely probable that the peace of the country would have been preſerved, notwithſtanding the machinations of Peynier and Mauduit, if the planters, true to their own cauſe, had remained united among themſelves. But, unfortunately, the provincial aſſembly of the North was induced, through miſrepreſentation or envy, to counteract, by all poſſible means, the proceedings of the general aſſembly at St. Marc. Thus, diſcord and diſſention every where prevailed; and appearances ſeemed to indicate an approaching civil war, even before the plan for the new conſtitution was publiſhed. This was contained in the famous decree of the general colonial aſſembly of the 28th of May; a decree, which having been the ſubject of much animadverſion, and made the oſtenſible motive, on the part of the executive power, for commencing hoſtilities, it is proper to ſtate it at large.

May 1790. It conſiſted of ten fundamental poſitions, which are preceded by an introductory diſcourſe or preamble (as uſual in the French decrees) wherein, among other conſiderations, it is ſtated, as an acknowledged principle in the French conſtitution, that the right in the crown to confirm the acts of the legiſlature, is a prerogative, inherent and *incommunicable:* of courſe that it cannot be delegated to a colonial governor, whoſe authority is precarious and ſubordinate. The articles are then ſubjoined, in the order and words following:

" 1. The legiſlative authority, in every thing which relates to the internal concerns of the colony *(regime interieur)*, is veſted in

in the assembly of its representatives, which shall be called *the General Assembly of the French Part of St. Domingo.*

2. No act of the legislative body, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, shall be considered *as a law definitive*, unless it be made by the representatives of the French part of St. Domingo, freely and legally chosen, and confirmed by the king.

3. In cases of urgent necessity, a legislative decree of the general assembly, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, shall be considered as a *law provisional.* In all such cases, the decree shall be notified forthwith to the governor general, who, within ten days after such notification, shall cause it to be published and enforced, or transmit to the general assembly his observations thereon.

4. The necessity of the case on which the execution of such provisional decree is to depend, shall be a separate question, and be carried in the affirmative by a majority of two-thirds of the general assembly; the names and numbers being taken down. *(Prises par l'appel nominal.)*.

5. If the governor general shall send down his observations on any such decree, the same shall be entered in the journals of the general assembly, who shall then proceed to revise the decree, and consider the observations thereon in three several sittings. The votes for confirming or annulling the decree shall be given in the words *Yes* or *No*, and a minute of the proceedings shall be signed by the members present, in which shall be enumerated the votes on each side of the question; and if there appears a majority of two-thirds for confirming the decree, it shall be immediately enforced by the governor general.

6. As

CHAP. III.

6. As every law ought to be founded on the conſent of thoſe who are to be bound by it, the French part of St. Domingo ſhall be allowed to propoſe regulations concerning commercial arrangements, and the ſyſtem of mutual connection *(rapports commerciaux, et autres rapports communs)*, and the decrees which the national aſſembly ſhall make in all ſuch caſes *ſhall not be enforced in the colony, until the general aſſembly ſhall have conſented thereto.*

7. In caſes of preſſing neceſſity, the importation of articles for the ſupport of the inhabitants ſhall not be conſidered as any breach in the ſyſtem of commercial regulations between St. Domingo and France; provided that the decrees to be made in ſuch caſes by the general aſſembly ſhall be ſubmitted to the reviſion of the governor general, under the ſame conditions and modifications as are preſcribed in articles 3 and 5.

8. Provided alſo, that every legiſlative act of the general aſſembly, executed proviſionally, in caſes of urgent neceſſity, ſhall be tranſmitted forthwith for the royal ſanction. And if the king ſhall refuſe his conſent to any ſuch act, its execution ſhall be ſuſpended, as ſoon as the king's refuſal ſhall be legally notified to the general aſſembly.

9. A new general aſſembly ſhall be choſen every two years, and none of the members who have ſerved in the former aſſembly ſhall be eligible in the new one.

10. The general aſſembly decree that the preceding articles, as forming part of the conſtitution of the French colony in St. Domingo, ſhall be immediately tranſmitted to France for the acceptance of the national aſſembly, and the king. They ſhall likewiſe

likewiſe be tranſmitted to all the pariſhes and diſtricts of the colony, and be notified to the governor general."

CHAP. III.

THAT a decree of ſuch comprehenſiveneſs and magnitude ſhould have excited very general diſquiſition in the colony, and have produced miſrepreſentation and clamour, even among men of very oppoſite ſentiments and tempers, is no way ſurpriſing. It muſt be allowed, that ſome of the articles are irreconcileable to every juſt principle of colonial ſubordination. The refuſing to allow a negative voice to the repreſentative of the king, is repugnant to all the notions which an Engliſhman is taught to entertain of a monarchical government, however limited: and the declaration that no decree of the national aſſembly concerning the colony, in caſes of exterior regulation, ſhould be in force until confirmed by the colonial aſſembly, was ſuch an extravagant aſſumption of imperial authority, in a ſubordinate part of the French empire, as I believe is without a precedent.

ALL that can be urged in extenuation, ſeems to be that the circumſtances of the caſe were novel, and the members of the colonial aſſembly unexperienced in the buſineſs of legiſlation. That they had any ſerious intention of declaring the colony an independent ſtate, in imitation of the Engliſh American provinces, it is impoſſible to believe. Nevertheleſs, the decree was no ſooner promulgated, than this notion was induſtriouſly propagated by their enemies from one end of the colony to the other; and when this report failed to gain belief, it was pretended that the colony was ſold to the Engliſh, and that the members of the general aſſembly

CHAP. III.

assembly had received and divided among themselves 40 millions of livres as the purchase money.

If recent events had not demonstrated the extreme credulity and jealous temper of the French character, it would be difficult to believe that charges, thus wild and unsupported, could have made an impression on the minds of any considerable number of the people. So great however was the effect produced by them, as to occasion some of the Western parishes to recal their deputies; while the inhabitants of Cape François took measures still more decisive: they renounced obedience to the general assembly, and presented a memorial to the governor, requesting him to dissolve it forthwith, declaring that they considered the colony as lost, unless he proceeded with the utmost vigour and promptitude in depriving that body of all manner of authority.

M. Peynier received this address with secret satisfaction. It seemed indeed to be the policy of both parties to reject all thoughts of compromise by negociation; and there occurred at this juncture a circumstance which would probably have rendered all negociation abortive, had it been attempted. In the harbour of Port au Prince lay a ship of the line, called the Leopard, commanded by M. Galisoniere. This officer, co-operating in the views of Peynier and Mauduit, made a sumptuous entertainment for the partizans of those gentlemen, and by this, or some other parts of his conduct, gave offence to his sailors. Whether these men had felt the influence of corruption (as asserted by one party) or were actuated solely by one of those unaccountable

unaccountable freaks to which ſeamen are particularly ſubject, the fact certainly is, that they withdrew their obedience from their proper officer, and declared themſelves to be in the intereſts of the colonial aſſembly! Their conduct became at length ſo turbulent and ſeditious, as to induce M. Galiſoniere to quit the ſhip, whereupon the crew gave the command to one of the lieutenants. The aſſembly, perceiving the advantages to be derived from this event, immediately tranſmitted a vote of thanks to the ſeamen for their patriotick conduct, and required them, in the name of the law and the king, to detain the ſhip in the road, and await their further orders. The ſailors, gratified with this acknowledgement, promiſed obedience, and affixed the vote of thanks on the main-maſt of the ſhip. Some partizans of the aſſembly, about the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of a powder magazine at Leogane.

27th July, 1790.

A CIVIL war ſeemed now to be inevitable. Two days after the vote of thanks had been tranſmitted from St. Marc's to the crew of the Leopard, M. Peynier iſſued a proclamation to diſſolve the general aſſembly. He charged the members with entertaining projects of independency, and aſſerted that they had treacherouſly poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the king's ſhips by corrupting the crew. He pronounced the members and all their adherents traitors to their country, and enemies to the nation and the king: declaring that it was his intention to employ all the force he could collect to defeat their projects, and bring them to condign puniſhment; and he called on all officers, civil and military, for their co-operation and ſupport.

CHAP. III.

His firſt proceedings were directed againſt the committee of the Weſtern provincial aſſembly.—This body held its meetings at Port au Prince, and in the exerciſe of its ſubordinate functions, during the intermiſſion of that aſſembly, had manifeſted ſuch zealous attachment to the general aſſembly at St. Marc, as expoſed its members to the reſentment of the governor and his party. It was determined therefore, at a council held the ſame day, to arreſt their perſons the following night, and M. Mauduit undertook to conduct the enterprize. Having been informed that this committee held conſultations at midnight, he ſelected about one hundred of his ſoldiers, and formed a ſcheme to ſeize the members at their place of meeting. On arriving however at the houſe, he found it protected by four hundred of the national guards *(g)*. A ſkirmiſh enſued; but the circumſtances attending it are ſo variouſly related, that no preciſe account can be given of the particulars; nor is it aſcertained which party gave the firſt fire. Nothing further is certainly known, than that two men were killed on the part of the aſſembly,—that ſeveral were wounded on both ſides, and that M. Mauduit returned without effecting any purpoſe but that of ſeizing, and bearing away in triumph, the national colours;—a circumſtance which afterwards (as will be ſeen in the ſequel) coſt him his life.

The general aſſembly, on receiving intelligence of this attack, and of the formidable preparations that were making for di-

(g) The troops in St. Domingo, called *the National Guards*, were originally nothing more than the colonial militia. They were new organized in 1789, on the model of the national guards in the mother-country, and bore the ſame colours, and aſſumed the ſame name.

recting hoſtilities againſt themſelves, ſummoned the people, from all parts of the colony, to haſten properly armed to protect their repreſentatives; and moſt of the inhabitants of the neighbouring pariſhes obeyed the ſummons. The ſhip Leopard was brought from Port au Prince to St. Marc's for the ſame purpoſe. On the other hand, the Northern provincial aſſembly joined the party of the governor, and ſent to his aſſiſtance a detachment from the regular troops in that quarter, which was joined by a body of two hundred people of colour. A much greater force was collected at the ſame time in the Weſtern province by M. Mauduit, and the preparations on both ſides threatened an obſtinate and bloody conflict; when, by one of thoſe wonderful eccentricities in the human mind which are ſeldom diſplayed except in times of publick commotion, a ſtop was put to the immediate ſhedding of blood, by the ſudden and unexpected determination of the general aſſembly to undertake a voyage to France, and juſtify their conduct to the king and the national aſſembly in perſon. Their motives were thought the more laudable, as all the Weſtern and great part of the Southern provinces gave a decided approbation of their conduct, and armed in a very ſhort time two thouſand men in their defence, which were in full march for Port au Prince. Their reſolution however was fixed, and accordingly, of about one hundred members, to which the colonial aſſembly was reduced by ſickneſs and deſertion, no leſs than eighty-five (of whom ſixty-four were fathers of families) actually embarked on board the Leopard, and on the 8th of Auguſt took their departure for 1790.
Europe:—a proceeding which created as much ſurprize in the governor and his party, as admiration and applauſe among the

CHAP. III.

people at large. Perſons of all ranks accompanied the members to the place of embarkation, pouring forth prayers for their ſucceſs, and ſhedding tears of ſenſibility and affection for a conduct which was very generally conſidered as a noble proof of ſelf-denial, and as ſignal an inſtance of heroick virtue and chriſtian forbearance as any age has exhibited. A momentary calm followed this event:—the parties in arms appeared mutually diſpoſed to ſubmit their differences to the wiſdom and juſtice of the king and the national aſſembly, and M. Peynier reſumed, though with a trembling hand, the reins of government.

Such was the iſſue of the firſt attempt to eſtabliſh a free conſtitution in the French part of St. Domingo, on the ſyſtem of a limited monarchy; and it affords occaſion for ſome important reflections. That the general colonial aſſembly, in their decree of the 28th of May, exceeded the proper boundary of their conſtitutional functions, has been frankly admitted. This irregularity, however, might have been corrected without bloodſhed or violence; but there is this misfortune attending every deviation from the rule of right, that, in the conflict of contending factions, the exceſſes of one party are ever conſidered as the fulleſt juſtification for the outrages of the other. For ſome parts of their conduct an apology may be offered. The meaſure of ſecuring to their intereſts the crew of the Leopard, and the ſeizure of the magazine at Leogane, may be vindicated on the plea of ſelf-defence. It cannot be doubted that M. Peynier had long meditated how beſt to reſtore the ancient deſpotick ſyſtem, and

that,

CHAP. III.

that, jointly with M. Mauduit and others, he had made preparations for that purpoſe. He had written to M. Luzerne, the miniſter in France, that he never intended to ſuffer the colonial aſſembly to meet; and let it be told in this place, in juſtice to the French miniſtry, that the anſwer which he received contained a tacit diſapprobation of his meaſures; for M. Luzerne recommended moderate and conciliatory councils. The governor proceeded notwithſtanding in the ſame career, and diſtruſtful perhaps of the fidelity of the French ſoldiers, he made application (as appeared afterwards) to the governor of the Havannah for a reinforcement of Spaniſh troops from Cuba. It is evident therefore that he concurred entirely in the plans of Mauduit for effectuating a counter-revolution; and hence it is reaſonable to conclude, that the diſcord and diſtruſt which prevailed among the inhabitants, and above all, the fatal diſſentions that alienated the provincial aſſembly of the North, from the general aſſembly at St. Marc's, were induſtriouſly fomented and encouraged by M. Peynier and his adherents. Concerning the members of the colonial aſſembly, their prompt and deciſive determination to repair to France, and ſurrender their perſons to the ſupreme government, obviates all impeachment of their loyalty. Their attachment to the mother-country was indeed ſecured by too many ties of intereſt and ſelf-preſervation to be doubted.

Of their reception by the national aſſembly, and the proceedings adopted in conſequence of their arrival in Europe, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak. A pauſe in this place ſeems

CHAP. III.

ſeems requiſite;—for I have now to introduce to the reader the mournful hiſtory of an unfortunate individual, over whoſe ſad fate (however we may condemn his raſh and ill-concerted enterprize)

" One human tear may drop, and be forgiven!"

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Rebellion and Defeat of Ogé, a free Man of Colour.

CHAP. IV.

FROM the first meeting of the general assembly of St. Domingo, to its dissolution and dispersion, as related in the preceding chapters, the coloured people resident within the colony remained on the whole more peaceable and orderly than might have been expected. The temperate and lenient disposition manifested by the assembly towards them, produced a beneficial and decisive effect in the Western and Southern provinces, and although 300 of them from these provinces, had been persuaded by M. Mauduit to join the force under his command, they very soon became sensible of their error, and, instead of marching towards St. Marc, as Mauduit proposed, they demanded and obtained their dismission, and returned quietly to their respective habitations. Such of the mulatto people however as resided at that juncture in the mother-country, continued in a far more hostile disposition; and they were encouraged in their animosity towards the white colonists by parties of very different descriptions. The colonial decree of the 28th of May, 1790, was no sooner made known in France, than it excited universal clamour. Many persons who concurred in nothing else, united their voices in reprobating the conduct of the inhabitants

CHAP. IV.

bitants of St. Domingo. The adherents of the ancient government were joined on this occaſion by the partizans of democracy and republicaniſm. To the latter, the conſtitution of 1789 was even more odious than the old tyranny; and theſe men, with the deepeſt and darkeſt deſigns, poſſeſſed all that union, firmneſs, and perſeverance which were neceſſary to their purpoſes; and which, as the world has beheld, have ſince rendered them irreſiſtible. Theſe two factions hoped to obtain very different ends, by the ſame means; and there was another party who exerted themſelves with equal aſſiduity in promoting publick confuſion: theſe were the diſcordant claſs of ſpeculative reformers, whom it was impoſſible to reconcile to the new government, becauſe every man among them had probably formed a favourite ſyſtem in his own imagination which he was eager to recommend to others. I do not conſider the philanthropick ſociety, called *Amis des Noirs*, as another diſtinct body, becauſe it appears to me that they were pretty equally divided between the democratick party, and the claſs laſt mentioned. Strengthened by ſuch auxiliaries, it is not ſurprizing that the efforts of this ſociety ſhould have operated powerfully on the minds of thoſe who were taught to conſider their perſonal wrongs as the cauſe of the nation, and have driven ſome of them into the wildeſt exceſſes of fanaticiſm and fury.

AMONG ſuch of theſe unfortunate people reſident in France as were thus inflamed into madneſs, was a young man under thirty years of age, named *James Ogé:* he was born in St. Domingo, of a mulatto woman who ſtill poſſeſſed a coffee plantation in the Northern province, about thirty miles from Cape François,

François, whereon she lived very creditably, and found means out of its profits to educate her son at Paris, and even to support him there in some degree of affluence, after he had obtained the age of manhood. His reputed father, a white planter of some account, had been dead several years. CHAP. IV.

OGÉ had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des Noirs*, under the patronage of Gregoire, Brissot *(h)*, La Fayette, and Robespierre *(i)*, the leading members of that society; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality*, and *the rights of man*. Here it was that he first learnt the miseries of his condition, the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were exposed in the West Indies, and the monstrous injustice and absurdity of that prejudice, "which, (said Gregoire) estimating a man's merit by the colour "of his skin, has placed at an immense distance from each other "the children of the same parent; a prejudice which stifles the "voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity asunder."

THAT these are great evils must be frankly admitted, and it would have been fortunate if such men as Brissot and Gregoire, instead of bewailing their existence and magnifying their extent, had applied their talents in considering of the best practicable means of redressing them.

BUT these persons had other objects in view:—their aim, as I have shewn, was not to reform, but to destroy; to excite con-

(h) Guillotined 31 October, 1793. *(i)* Guillotined 28 July, 1794.

CHAP. IV.

vulſions in every part of the French empire; and the ill-fated Ogé became the tool, and was afterwards the victim, of their guilty ambition.

He had been led to believe, that the whole body of coloured people in the French iſlands were prepared to riſe up as one man againſt their oppreſſors; that nothing but a diſcreet leader was wanting, to ſet them into action; and, fondly conceiving that he poſſeſſed in his own perſon all the qualities of an able general, he determined to proceed to St. Domingo by the firſt opportunity. To cheriſh the conceit of his own importance, and animate his exertions, the ſociety procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army of one of the German electors.

As it was found difficult to export a ſufficient quantity of arms and ammunition from France, without attracting the notice of the government, and awakening ſuſpicion among the planters reſident in the mother country, the ſociety reſolved to procure thoſe articles in North America, and it was recommended to Ogé to make a circuitous voyage for that purpoſe. Accordingly, being furniſhed with money and letters of credit, he embarked for New England in the month of July 1790.

But, notwithſtanding the caution that was obſerved in this inſtance, the whole project was publickly known at Paris previous to Ogé's embarkation, and notice of the ſcheme, and even a portrait of Ogé himſelf, were tranſmitted to St. Domingo, long before his arrival in that iſland. He ſecretly landed there, from an American ſloop, on the 12th of October 1790, and found means

means to convey undiſcovered the arms and ammunition which he had purchaſed, to the place which his brother had prepared for their reception. CHAP. IV.

THE firſt notice which the white inhabitants received of Ogé's arrival, was from himſelf. He diſpatched a letter to the governor (Peynier) wherein, after reproaching the governor and his predeceſſors with the non-execution of the *Code Noir*, he demands, in very imperious terms, that the proviſions of that celebrated ſtatute ſhould be enforced throughout the colony; he requires that the privileges enjoyed by one claſs of inhabitants (the whites) ſhould be extended to all perſons without diſtinction; declares himſelf the protector of the mulattoes, and announces his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unleſs their wrongs ſhould be redreſſed.

ABOUT ſix weeks had intervened between the landing of Ogé, and the publication of this mandate; in all which time he and his two brothers had exerted themſelves to the utmoſt in ſpreading diſaffection, and exciting revolt among the mulattoes. Aſſurances were held forth, that all the inhabitants of the mother country were diſpoſed to aſſiſt them in the recovery of their rights, and it was added, that the king himſelf was favourably inclined to their cauſe. Promiſes were diſtributed to ſome, and money to others. But, notwithſtanding all theſe efforts, and that the temper of the times was favourable to his views, Ogé was not able to allure to his ſtandard above 200 followers; and of theſe, the major part were raw and ignorant youths, unuſed

CHAP. IV.

to diſcipline, and averſe to all manner of ſubordination and order.

He eſtabliſhed his camp at a place called *Grande Riviere*, about fifteen miles from Cape François, and appointed his two brothers, together with one Mark Chavane, his lieutenants. Chavane was fierce, intrepid, active, and enterprizing; prone to miſchief, and thirſty for vengeance. Ogé himſelf, with all his enthuſiaſm, was naturally mild and humane: he cautioned his followers againſt the ſhedding innocent blood; but little regard was paid to his wiſhes in this reſpect: the firſt white man that fell in their way they murdered on the ſpot: a ſecond, of the name of Sicard, met the ſame fate; and it is related, that their cruelty towards ſuch perſons of their own complexion as refuſed to join in the revolt was extreme. A mulatto man of ſome property being urged to follow them, pointed to his wife and ſix children, aſſigning the largeneſs of his family as a motive for wiſhing to remain quiet. This conduct was conſidered as contumacious, and it is aſſerted, that not only the man himſelf, but the whole of his family, were maſſacred without mercy.

Intelligence was no ſooner received at the town of Cape François of theſe enormities, than the inhabitants proceeded, with the utmoſt vigour and unanimity, to adopt meaſures for ſuppreſſing the revolt. A body of regular troops, and the Cape regiment of militia, were forthwith diſpatched for that purpoſe. They ſoon inveſted the camp of the revolters, who made leſs reſiſtance than might have been expected from men in their deſperate circumſtances. The rout became general; many of them were

were killed, and about ſixty made priſoners; the reſt diſperſed themſelves in the mountains. Ogé himſelf, one of his brothers, and Chavane his aſſociate, took refuge in the Spaniſh territories. Of Ogé's other brother no intelligence was ever afterwards obtained.

AFTER this unſucceſsful attempt of Ogé, and his eſcape from juſtice, the diſpoſition of the white inhabitants in general towards the mulattoes, was ſharpened into great animoſity. The lower claſſes in particular, (thoſe whom the coloured people call *les petits blancs)* breathed nothing but vengeance againſt them; and very ſerious apprehenſions were entertained, in all parts of the colony, of a proſcription and maſſacre of the whole body.

ALARMED by reports of this kind, and the appearances which threatened them from all quarters, the mulattoes flew to arms in many places. They formed camps at Artibonite, Petit Goaves, Jeremie, and Aux Cayes. But the largeſt and moſt formidable body aſſembled near the little town of *Verette*. The white inhabitants collected themſelves in conſiderable force in the neighbourhood, and Colonel Mauduit, with a corps of two hundred men from the regiment of Port au Prince, haſtened to their aſſiſtance; but neither party proceeded to actual hoſtility. M. Mauduit even left his detachment at the port of St. Marc, thirty-ſix miles from Verette, and proceeding ſingly and unattended to the camp of the mulattoes, had a conference with their leaders. What paſſed on that occaſion was never publickly divulged. It is certain, that the mulattoes retired to their habitations in conſequence of it; but the ſilence and ſecrecy of M. Mauduit, and

his

CHAP. IV.

his influence over them, gave occaſion to very unfavourable ſuſpicions, by no means tending to conciliate the different claſſes of the inhabitants to each other. He was charged with having traiterouſly perſuaded them not to deſiſt from their purpoſe, but only to poſtpone their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity; aſſuring them, with the utmoſt ſolemnity and apparent ſincerity, that the king himſelf, and all the friends of the ancient government, were ſecretly attached to their cauſe, and would avow and ſupport it whenever they could do it with advantage; and that the time was not far diſtant, &c. He is ſaid to have purſued the ſame line of conduct at Jeremie, Aux Cayes, and all the places which he viſited. Every where he held ſecret conſultations with the chiefs of the mulattoes, and thoſe people every where immediately diſperſed. At Aux Cayes, a ſkirmiſh had happened before his arrival there, in which about fifty perſons on both ſides had loſt their lives, and preparations were making to renew hoſtilities. The perſuaſions of M. Mauduit effected a truce; but Rigaud, the leader of the mulattoes in that quarter, openly declared that it was a tranſient and deceitful calm, and that no peace would be permanent, until one claſs of people had exterminated the other.

In November 1790, M. Peynier reſigned the government to the lieutenant-general, and embarked for Europe;—a circumſtance which proved highly pleaſing to the major part of the planters:—and the firſt meaſure of M. Blanchelande *(k)*, the new commander in chief, was conſidered as the earneſt of a deciſive

(k) Guillotined at Paris, 1793.

and

and vigorous adminiſtration. He made a peremptory demand of Ogé and his aſſociates from the Spaniards; and the manner in which it was enforced, induced an immediate compliance therewith. The wretched Ogé, and his companions in miſery, were delivered over, the latter end of December, to a detachment of French troops, and ſafely lodged in the jail of Cape François, with the priſoners formerly taken; and a commiſſion was ſoon afterwards iſſued to bring them to trial. 1790.

THEIR examinations were long and frequent; and in the beginning of March 1791, ſentence was pronounced. Twenty of Ogé's deluded followers, among them his own brother, were condemned to be hanged. To Ogé himſelf, and his lieutenant Chavane, a more terrible puniſhment was allotted:—they were adjudged to be broken alive, and left to periſh in that dreadful ſituation, on the wheel:—a ſentence, on which it is impoſſible to reflect but with mingled emotions of ſhame, ſympathy, indignation, and horror!

THE bold and hardened Chavane met his fate with unuſual firmneſs, and ſuffered not a groan to eſcape him during the extremity of his torture: but the fortitude of Ogé deſerted him altogether. When ſentence was pronounced, he implored mercy with many tears, and an abject ſpirit. He promiſed to make great diſcoveries if his life was ſpared, declaring that he had an important ſecret to communicate. A reſpite of twenty-four hours was accordingly granted; but it was not made known to the publick, at that time, that he divulged any thing of importance. His ſecret, if any he had, was believed to have died with him.

CHAP. IV.

It was diſcovered, however, about nine months afterwards, that this moſt unfortunate young man had not only made a full confeſſion of the facts that I have related, but alſo diſcloſed the dreadful plot in agitation, and the miſeries at that moment impending over the colony. His laſt ſolemn declarations and dying confeſſion, ſworn to and ſigned by himſelf the day before his execution, were actually produced; wherein he details at large the meaſures which the coloured people had fallen upon to excite the negro ſlaves to riſe into rebellion. He points out the chiefs by name, and relates that, notwithſtanding his own defeat, a general revolt would actually have taken place in the month of February preceding, if an extraordinary flood of rain, and conſequent inundation from the rivers, had not prevented it. He declares that the ringleaders ſtill maintained the ſame atrocious project, and held their meetings in certain ſubterranean paſſages, or caves, in the pariſh of La Grande Riviere, to which he offers, if his life might be ſpared, to conduct a body of troops, ſo that the conſpirators might be ſecured.

The perſons before whom this confeſſion and narrative were made, were the commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe of taking Ogé's examination, by the ſuperior council of the Northern province, of which body they were alſo members *(l)*. Whether this court (all the members of which were devotedly attached to the ancient ſyſtem) determined of itſelf to ſuppreſs evidence of ſuch great concern to the colony, or was directed on

(l) Their names were Antoine Etienne Ruotte, and Francois Joſeph de Vertierres.

this

this occaſion by the ſuperior officers in the adminiſtration of the government, has never been clearly made known. Suppreſſed it certainly was, and the miſerable Ogé hurried to immediate execution; as if to prevent the further communication, and full diſcloſure of ſo weighty a ſecret!

CHRISTIAN charity might lead us to ſuppoſe that the commiſſioners by whom Ogé's examination was taken, diſregarded and neglected (rather than ſuppreſſed) his information; conſidering it merely as the ſhallow artifice of a miſerable man to obtain a mitigation of the dreadful puniſhment which awaited him, and utterly unworthy of credit. It does not appear, however, that the commiſſioners made this excuſe for themſelves; and the caution, circumſpection, and ſecrecy which marked their conduct, leave no room for ſuch a ſuppoſition. The planters at large ſcrupled not to declare, that the royaliſts in the colony, and the philanthropick and republican party in the mother country, were equally criminal; and themſelves made victims to the blind purpoſes, and unwarrantable paſſions, of two deſperate and malignant factions.

OF men who openly and avowedly aimed at the ſubverſion of all good order and ſubordination, we may eaſily credit the worſt; but it will be difficult to point out any principle of rational policy by which the royaliſts could have been influenced to concur in the ruin of ſo noble and beautiful a part of the French empire. Their conduct therefore remains wholly inexplicable, or we muſt admit they were guided by a ſpirit of Machiavilian policy—a principle of refined cunning, which al-

CHAP. IV.

ways defeats its own purpoſe. They muſt have encouraged the vain and fallacious idea that ſcenes of bloodſhed, devaſtation, and ruin, in different parts of the French dominions, would induce the great body of the people to look back with regret to their former government, and lead them by degrees to co-operate in the ſcheme of effecting a counter-revolution; regarding the evils of anarchy, as leſs tolerable than the dead repoſe of deſpotiſm. If ſuch were their motives, we can only aſcribe them to that infatuation with which Providence (as wiſe men have obſerved, and hiſtory evinces) *blinds a people devoted to deſtruction.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Proceedings in France—Maſſacre of Colonel Mauduit in St. Domingo—and fatal Decree of the National Aſſembly of the 15th May 1791.

CHAP. V.

IN detailing the tragical ſtory of the miſerable Ogé, I have choſen to continue my narrative unbroken: but it is now time to call the reader homewards, and direct his attention to the meaſures adopted by the national aſſembly, in conſequence of advices received from all parts of St. Domingo, concerning the proceedings of the colonial aſſembly which met at St. Marc's.

THE eighty-five members, whoſe embarkation for France has already been noticed, arrived at Breſt on the 13th of September 1790. They were received on landing by all ranks of people, and even by men in authority, with congratulation and ſhouts of applauſe. The ſame honours were ſhewn to them as would have been paid to the national aſſembly. Their expences were defrayed, and ſums of money raiſed for their future occaſions by a voluntary and very general ſubſcription; but theſe teſtimonies of reſpect and kindneſs ſerved only to encreaſe the diſappointment which they ſoon afterwards experienced in the capital;

CHAP. V.

where a very different reception awaited them. They had the mortification to diſcover that their enemies had been beforehand with them. Deputies were already arrived from the provincial aſſembly of the North, who, joining with the agents of Peynier and Mauduit, had ſo effectually prevailed with M. Barnave *(a)*, the preſident of the committee for the colonies, that they found their cauſe prejudged, and their conduct condemned, without a hearing. The national aſſembly had iſſued a peremptory order, on the 21ſt of September, directing them to attend at Paris, and wait there for further directions. Their prompt obedience to this order procured them no favour. They were allowed a ſingle audience only, and then indignantly diſmiſſed from the bar. They ſolicited a ſecond, and an opportunity of being confronted with their adverſaries: the national aſſembly refuſed their requeſt, and directed the colonial committee to haſten its report concerning their conduct. On the 11th of October, this report was preſented by M. Barnave. It comprehended a detail of all the proceedings of the colonial aſſembly, from its firſt meeting at St. Marc's, and cenſured their general conduct in terms of great aſperity; repreſenting it as flowing from motives of diſaffection towards the mother country, and an impatience of ſubordination to conſtitutional authority and good government. The report concluded by recommending, "that all the pre-"tended decrees and acts of the ſaid colonial aſſembly, ſhould be "reverſed, and pronounced utterly null and of no effect; that "the ſaid aſſembly ſhould be declared diſſolved, and its mem-"bers rendered ineligible and incapable of being delegated in

(a) Guillotined December 1, 1793.

"future

"future to the colonial aſſembly of St. Domingo; that teſti-
"monies of approbation ſhould be tranſmitted to the Northern
"provincial aſſembly, to Colonel Mauduit and the regiment of
"Port au Prince, for reſiſting the proceedings at St Marc's; that
"the king ſhould be requeſted to give orders for the forming a new
"colonial aſſembly on the principles of the national decree of
"the 8th of March 1790, and inſtructions of the 28th of the
"ſame month; finally, that the *ci-devant* members, then in
"France, ſhould continue in a ſtate of arreſt, until the national
"aſſembly might find time to ſignify its further pleaſure concern-
"ing them." A decree to this effect was accordingly voted on the 12th of October, by a very large majority; and the king was requeſted, at the ſame time, to ſend out an augmentation of force, both naval and military, for the better ſupporting the regal authority in St. Domingo.

It is not eaſy to deſcribe the ſurprize and indignation which the news of this decree excited in St. Domingo, except among the partizans of the former government. By *them* it was regarded as the firſt ſtep towards the revival of the ancient ſyſtem; by moſt other perſons it was conſidered as a dereliction by the national aſſembly of all principle; and the orders for electing a new colonial aſſembly were ſo little regarded, that many of the pariſhes poſitively refuſed to chooſe other deputies until the fate of their former members, at that time in France, ſhould be decided; declaring, that they ſtill conſidered thoſe perſons as the legal repreſentatives of the colony. One immediate and apparent effect of this decree was, to heighten and inflame the popular reſentment againſt Mauduit and his regiment. The reader has already been made acquainted with ſome particulars concerning

CHAP. V.

concerning this officer; and to what has been ſaid of his general character, and his intemperate zeal for the re-eſtabliſhment of the regal authority in its fulleſt extent, it may be added, that he was the more dangerous, becauſe he was generous in his diſpoſition, and even profuſe in his bounty towards his ſoldiers. In return, the attachment of his regiment towards his perſon appeared to exceed the uſual limits of obedience and duty *(b)*.

THE maſſacre of this man by thoſe very troops, a ſhort time after the notification of the aforeſaid decree, affords ſo ſtriking an inſtance of that cruel and ungovernable diſpoſition, equally impetuous and inconſtant, which prevailed, and I am afraid ſtill continues to prevail, amongſt the lower claſſes of the people throughout all the French dominions, that I conceive a brief recital of the circumſtances attending his murder will not be thought an unneceſſary digreſſion.

I HAVE, in a former place *(c)*, given ſome account of the proceedings of M. Peynier, the late governor, againſt certain perſons who compoſed what was called the committee of the Weſtern provincial aſſembly, and of the attempt by M. Mauduit to ſeize by force the individuals who compoſed that committee. This happened on the 29th of July, 1790; and I obſerved that the circumſtance of M. Mauduit's carrying off the colours from a detachment of the national guards on that occaſion, ultimately terminated in his deſtruction.

(b) After his example they had rejected the national cockade, and wore a white feather in their hats, the ſymbol, or avowed ſignal, of the royal party.

(c) Chap. iii. p. 34.

THE caſe was, that not only the detachment from whom their enſign was taken, but the whole of the national guards throughout the colony, conſidered this act as the moſt outrageous and unpardonable inſult that could poſſibly be offered to a body of men, who had ſworn fidelity to the new conſtitution; and nothing but the dread of the ſuperior diſcipline of the veterans compoſing the Port au Prince regiment (which Mauduit commanded) prevented them from exerciſing exemplary vengeance on the author of their diſgrace. This regiment therefore, being implicated in the crime of their commanding officer, was regarded by the other troops with hatred and deteſtation.

ON the 3d of March 1791, the frigates Le Fougueux and Le Borée arrived from France, with two battalions of the regiments of Artois and Normandy; and when it is known that theſe troops had been viſited by the crew of the Leopard, it will not appear ſurprizing that, on their landing at Port au Prince, they ſhould have manifeſted the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition towards Mauduit's regiment, as was ſhewn by the national guards. They refuſed all manner of communication or intercourſe with them, and even declined to enter into any of their places of reſort. They conſidered, or affected to conſider them, as enemies to the colony, and traitors to their country. This conduct in the new-comers towards the ill-fated regiment ſoon made a wonderful impreſſion on the minds of both officers and privates of the regiment itſelf; and mutual reproach and accuſation ſpread through the whole corps. The white feather was indignantly torn from their hats, and dark and ſullen looks towards

CHAP. V.

wards their once-loved commander, indicated not only that he had loſt their confidence, but alſo that he was the object of meditated miſchief. Mauduit ſoon perceived the full extent of his danger, and fearing to involve the governor (M. Blanchelande) and his family, in the ruin which awaited himſelf, with great generoſity adviſed them to make the beſt of their way to Cape François, while they could do it with ſafety; and Blanchelande, for which he was afterwards much cenſured, followed this advice. Mauduit then harangued his grenadiers, to whom he had always ſhewn great kindneſs, and told them that he was willing, for the ſake of peace, to reſtore to the national troops the colours which he had formerly taken from them; and even to carry them, with his own hands, at the head of his regiment, and depoſit them in the church in which they had been uſually lodged; but he added, that he depended on their affection and duty to protect him from perſonal inſult, while making this ample apology. The faithleſs grenadiers declared that they would protect him with their lives.

THE next day the ceremony took place, and Mauduit reſtored the colours as he had promiſed, before a vaſt croud of ſpectators. At that moment, one of his own ſoldiers cried aloud, *that he muſt aſk pardon of the national troops on his knees*; and the whole regiment applauded the propoſal. Mauduit ſtarted back with indignation, and offered his boſom to their ſwords:—it was pierced with a hundred wounds, all of them inflicted by his own men, while not a ſingle hand was lifted up in his defence. The ſpectators ſtood motionleſs, either through hatred to the man, or ſurprize at the treachery and cowardice of the ſoldiers. Such indeed

CHAP. V.

indeed was the baſeneſs of theſe wretches, that no modern language can deſcribe, but in terms which would not be endured, the horrible enormities that were practiſed on the dead body of their wretched commander. It was reſerved for the preſent day to behold, for the firſt time, a civilized nation exceeding in feats of cruelty and revenge the ſavages of North America. I grieve to add, that I have many dreadful inſtances yet to recite in confirmation of this remark *(c)*.

WHILE theſe ſhameful enormities were paſſing in St. Domingo, the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* in the mother country were but too ſucceſsfully employed in deviſing projects which gave birth to deeds of ſtill greater horror, and produced ſcenes that transformed the moſt beautiful colony in the world into a field of deſolation and carnage.

ALTHOUGH it muſt have occurred to every unprejudiced mind, from the circumſtances that have been related concerning the

(c) The following anecdote, though ſhocking to humanity, I have thought too extraordinary to omit. It was communicated to me by a French gentleman who was at St. Domingo at the time, and knew the fact; but decency has induced me to veil it in a learned language. MAUDUITO *vix mortuo, unus de militibus, dum cadaver calidum, et cruore adhuc fluente madidum, in pavimentum eccleſiæ epiſcopalis jacuit, ſicam diſtringens, genitalia coram populo abſcidit, et membra truncata in ciſtam componens, ad feminam nobilem, quam amicam Mauduito ſtatuit, ut legatum de mortuo attulit.* It may afford the reader ſome conſolation to find that the murder of their commanding officer by his own regiment, excited in all the other troops no other ſentiments than thoſe of indignation againſt his murderers. They were compelled to lay down their arms, and were ſent priſoners to France; but I fear they eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crimes.

CHAP. V.

behaviour of the mulattoes reſident in the colony, that the general body of thoſe people were by no means averſe to conciliation with the whites, yet it was found impoſſible to perſuade their pretended friends in Europe to leave the affairs of St. Domingo to their natural courſe. Barnave alone (hitherto the moſt formidable opponent of the prejudices and pretenſions of the coloniſts) avowed his conviction that any further interference of the mother country in the queſtion between the whites and the coloured people, would be productive of fatal conſequences. Such an opinion was entitled to greater reſpect, as coming from a man who, as preſident of the colonial committee, muſt be ſuppoſed to have acquired an intimate knowledge of the ſubject; but he was heard without conviction. There are enthuſiaſts in politicks as well as in religion, and it commonly happens with fanaticks in each, that the recantation of a few of their number ſerves only to ſtrengthen the errors, and animate the purpoſes of the reſt. It was now reſolved by Gregoire, La Fayette, Briſſot, and ſome other peſtilent reformers, to call in the ſupreme legiſlative authority of the French government to give effect to their projects; and that the reader may clearly underſtand the nature and complexion of the miſchief that was meditated, and of thoſe meaſures to which the ruin of the French part of St. Domingo is immediately to be attributed, it is neceſſary, in the firſt place, to recal his attention to the national decree of the 8th of March 1790, of which an account was given in the ſecond chapter.

By that decree, as the reader muſt have remembered, the national aſſembly, among other things, diſclaimed all right of interference

terference in the local and interior concerns of the colonies; and it cannot be doubted, that if this declaration had been faithfully interpreted and acted upon, it would have contributed, in a very eminent degree, to the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity in St. Domingo. To render it therefore of as little effect as poſſible, and to add fuel to the fire which perhaps would otherwiſe have become extinguiſhed, it had been inſidiouſly propoſed in the national aſſembly, within a few days after the decree of the 8th of March had paſſed, to tranſmit with it to the governor of St. Domingo, a code, or chapter, of inſtructions for its due and punctual obſervance and execution. Accordingly, on the 28th of the ſame month, inſtructions which were ſaid to be calculated for that purpoſe, were preſented and decreed. They conſiſted of eighteen articles, and contained, among other things, a direction "that "every perſon of the age of twenty-five and upwards, poſſeſſing "property, or having reſided two years in the colony, and paid "taxes, ſhould be permitted to vote in the formation of the co-"lonial aſſembly."

THE friends of the coloniſts having at that time ſeats in the national aſſembly, oppoſed the meaſure chiefly on the ground of its repugnancy to the decree of the 8th; it being evidently, they urged, an interference in the local arrangements and interior regulations of the colonial government. It does not appear (notwithſtanding what has ſince been aſſerted to the contrary) that they entertained an idea that the mulatto people were directly or indirectly concerned. The framers and ſupporters of the meaſure pretended that it went only to the modification of the privilege of voting in the parochial meetings, which it was well

CHAP. V.

known, under the old government had been conſtituted of white perſons only. The coloured people had in no inſtance attended thoſe meetings, nor ſet up a claim, or even expreſſed a deſire, to take any part in the buſineſs tranſacted thereat. But theſe inſtructions were no ſooner adopted by the national aſſembly, and converted into a decree, than its framers and ſupporters threw off the maſk, and the mulattoes reſident in the mother country, as well as the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*, failed not to apprize their friends and agents in St. Domingo, that the people of colour, not being excepted, were virtually comprized in it. Theſe, however, not thinking themſelves ſufficiently powerful to enforce the claim, or, perhaps, doubting the real meaning of the decree, ſent deputies to France to demand an explanation of it from the national aſſembly.

In the beginning of May 1791, the conſideration of this ſubject was brought forward by the Abbé Gregoire, and the claim of the free mulattoes to the full benefit of the inſtructions of the 28th of March 1790, and to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants, citizens of the French colonies, was ſupported with all that warmth and eloquence for which he was diſtinguiſhed. Unfortunately, at this juncture the news of the miſerable death of Ogé arrived at Paris, and raiſed a ſtorm of indignation in the minds of all ranks of people, which the planters reſident in France were unable to reſiſt. Nothing was heard in all companies but declamations againſt their oppreſſion and cruelty. To ſupport and animate the popular outcry againſt them, a tragedy or pantomine, formed on the ſtory of Ogé, was repreſented on the publick theatres. By theſe, and other means, the

CHAP. V.

the planters were become ſo generally odious, that for a time they dared not to appear in the ſtreets of Paris. Theſe were the arts by which Gregoire, Condorcet, La Fayette, Briſſot, and Roberſpierre diſpoſed the publick mind to clamour for a new and explanatory decree, in which the rights of the coloured people ſhould be placed beyond all future doubts and diſpute. The friends and advocates of the planters were overpowered and confounded. In vain did they predict the utter deſtruction of the colonies if ſuch a propoſal ſhould paſs into a law. "Periſh the colonies," ſaid Roberſpierre, "rather than ſacrifice one iota of our prin-"ciples." The majority reiterated the ſentiment, and the famous decree of the 15th of May 1791 was pronounced amidſt the acclamation and applauſe of the multitude.

By this decree it was declared and enacted, "that the people of colour reſident in the French colonies, born of free parents, were entitled to, as of right, and ſhould be allowed the enjoyment of, all the privileges of French citizens, and, among others, to thoſe of having votes in the choice of repreſentatives, and of *being eligible to ſeats both in the parochial and colonial aſſemblies.*" Thus did the national aſſembly ſweep away in a moment all the laws, uſages, prejudices, and opinions concerning theſe people, which had exiſted in the French colonies from their earlieſt ſettlement, and tear up by the roots the firſt principle of a free conſtitution: —a principle founded on the cleareſt dictates of reaſon and juſtice, and expreſsly confirmed to the inhabitants of the French Weſt Indies by the national decree of the 8th of March 1790; I mean, *the ſole and excluſive right of paſſing laws for their local and interior regulation and government.* The colonial committee, of

CHAP. V.

of which M. Barnave was preſident, failed not to apprize the national aſſembly of the fatal conſequences of this meaſure, and immediately ſuſpended the exerciſe of its functions. At the ſame time, the deputies from the colonies ſignified their purpoſe to decline any further attendance. The only effect produced by theſe meaſures however, on the national aſſembly, was an order that the three civil commiſſioners, who had been appointed in February preceding for regulating the affairs of the colonies on the ſpot, ſhould immediately repair thither, and ſee the national decrees duly enforced. The conſequences in St. Domingo will be related in the following chapter *(d)*.

(d) It has been confidently aſſerted, that *La Fayette*, in order to ſecure a majority on this queſtion, introduced into the national aſſembly no leſs than eighty perſons who were not members, but who ſat and voted as ſuch. This man had formerly been poſſeſſed of a plantation at Cayenne, with ſeventy negro ſlaves thereon, which he had ſold, without any ſcruple or ſtipulation concerning the ſituation of the negroes, the latter end of 1789, and from that time enrolled himſelf among the friends of the blacks. The mere Engliſh reader, who may be perſonally unacquainted with the Weſt Indies, will probably conſider the clamour which was raiſed on this occaſion by the French planters as equally illiberal and unjuſt. The planters in the Britiſh Weſt Indies will perhaps bring the caſe home to themſelves; and I have no heſitation in ſaying, that, ſuppoſing the Engliſh parliament ſhould paſs a law declaring, for inſtance, the free mulattoes of Jamaica to be eligible into the aſſembly of that iſland, ſuch a meaſure would prove there, as it proved in St. Domingo, the declaration of civil war. On mere abſtract reaſoning this may appear ſtrange and unjuſtifiable; but we muſt take mankind as we find them, and few inſtances occur in which the prejudices of habit, education, and opinion have been corrected *by force*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Conſequences in St. Domingo of the Decree of the 15th of May—Rebellion of the Negroes in the Northern Province, and Enormities committed by them—Revolt of the Mulattoes at Mirebalais—Concordat *or Truce between the Inhabitants of Port au Prince and the Men of Colour of the 11th of September—Proclamation by the National Aſſembly of the 20th of September.*

CHAP. VI.

I AM now to enter on the retroſpect of ſcenes, the horrors of which imagination cannot adequately conceive nor pen deſcribe. The diſputes and conteſts between different claſſes of French citizens, and the violences of malignant factions towards each other, no longer claim attention. Such a picture of human miſery;—ſuch a ſcene of woe, preſents itſelf, as no other country, no former age has exhibited. Upwards of one hundred thouſand ſavage people, habituated to the barbarities of Africa, avail themſelves of the ſilence and obſcurity of the night, and fall on the peaceful and unſuſpicious planters, like ſo many famiſhed tygers thirſting for human blood. Revolt, conflagration and maſſacre, every where mark their progreſs; and death, in all its horrors, or cruelties and outrages, compared to which immediate death is mercy, await alike the old and the young, the matron, the virgin, and the helpleſs infant. No condition, age,

CHAP. VI.

age, or ſex is ſpared. All the ſhocking and ſhameful enormities, with which the fierce and unbridled paſſions of ſavage man have ever conducted a war, prevail uncontrouled. The rage of fire conſumes what the ſword is unable to deſtroy, and, in a few diſmal hours, the moſt fertile and beautiful plains in the world are converted into one vaſt field of carnage;—a wilderneſs of deſolation!

THERE is indeed too much reaſon to believe, that theſe miſeries would have occurred in St. Domingo, in a great degree, even if the proceedings of the National Aſſembly, as related in the latter part of the preceding chapter, had been more temperate, and if the decree of the 15th of May had never paſſed into a law. The declarations of the dying Ogé ſufficiently point out the miſchief that was meditated, long before that obnoxious decree was promulgated. But it may be affirmed, with truth and certainty, that this fatal meaſure gave life and activity to the poiſon. It was the brand by which the flames were lighted, and the combuſtibles that were prepared ſet into action. Intelligence having been received of it at Cape Fran-
1791. çois on the 30th of June, no words can deſcribe the rage and indignation which immediately ſpread throughout the colony; and in no place did the inhabitants breathe greater reſentment than in the town of the Cape, which had hitherto been foremoſt in profeſſions of attachment to the mother country, and in promoting the ſpirit of diſunion and oppoſition in the colonial aſſembly. They now unanimouſly determined to reject the civick oath, although great preparations had been made for a general federation on the 14th of July. The news of this decree ſeemed to unite

unite the moſt diſcordant intereſts. In the firſt tranſports of indignation it was propoſed to ſeize all the ſhips, and confiſcate the effects of the French merchants then in the harbour. An embargo was actually laid, and a motion was even made in the provincial aſſembly to pull down the national colours, and hoiſt the Britiſh ſtandard in their room. The national cockade was every where trodden under foot, and the governor-general, who continued a ſorrowful and ſilent ſpectator of theſe exceſſes, found his authority, as repreſentative of the parent country, together with every idea of colonial ſubordination in the people, annihilated in a moment. CHAP. VI.

THE fears and apprehenſions which the governor felt on this occaſion have been well deſcribed by that officer himſelf, in a memorial which he afterwards publiſhed concerning his adminiſtration. "Acquainted (he obſerves) with the genius and "temper of the white coloniſts, by a reſidence of ſeven years in "the Windward Iſlands, and well informed of the grounds and "motives of their prejudices and opinions concerning the peo-"ple of colour, I immediately foreſaw the diſturbances and "dangers which the news of this ill-adviſed meaſure would in-"evitably produce; and not having it in my power to ſuppreſs "the communication of it, I loſt no time in apprizing the "king's miniſters of the general diſcontent and violent fermen-"tation which it excited in the colony. To my own obſerva-"tions, I added thoſe of many reſpectable, ſober, and diſpaſ-"ſionate men, whom I thought it my duty to conſult in ſo "critical a conjuncture; and I concluded my letter by expreſ-"ſing my fears that this decree would prove the death-warrant

CHAP. VI.

" of many thouſands of the inhabitants. The event has mourn-
" fully verified my predictions !"

On the recommendation of the provincial aſſembly of the Northern department, the ſeveral pariſhes throughout the colony now proceeded, without further heſitation, to the election of deputies for a new general colonial aſſembly. Theſe deputies, to the number of one hundred and ſeventy-ſix, met at Leogane, and on the 9th of Auguſt declared themſelves *the general aſſembly of the French part of St. Domingo.* They tranſacted however but little buſineſs, but manifeſted great unanimity and temper in their proceedings, and reſolved to hold their meetings at Cape François, whither they adjourned for that purpoſe, appointing the 25th of the ſame month for opening the ſeſſion.

In the mean-while, ſo great was the agitation of the publick mind, M. Blanchelande found it neceſſary not only to tranſmit to the provincial aſſembly of the North, a copy of the letter which he mentions to have written to the king's miniſters, but alſo to accompany it with a ſolemn aſſurance, pledging himſelf *to ſuſpend the execution of the obnoxious decree, whenever it ſhould come out to him properly authenticated*; a meaſure which too plainly demonſtrated that his authority in the colony was at an end.

Juſtly alarmed at all theſe proceedings, ſo hoſtile towards them, and probably apprehenſive of a general proſcription, the mulattoes throughout the colony began to collect in different

places

places in armed bodies; and the whites, by a mournful fatality, suffered them to assemble without molestation. In truth, every man's thoughts were directed towards the meeting of the new colonial assembly, from whose deliberations and proceedings the extinction of party, and the full and immediate redress of all existing grievances, were confidently expected. M. Blanchelande himself declares, that he cherished the same flattering and fallacious hopes. "After a long succession of violent storms, "I fondly expected (he writes) the return of a calm and serene "morning. The temperate and conciliating conduct of the "new assembly, during their short sitting at Leogane, the cha- "racters of most of the individual members, and the necessity, "so apparent to all, of mutual concession and unanimity on this "great occasion, led me to think that the colony would at "length see the termination of its miseries; when, alas, the "storm was ready to burst, which has since involved us in one "common destruction!" CHAP. VI.

It was on the morning of the 23d of August, just before day, 1791. that a general alarm and consternation spread throughout the town of the Cape, from a report that all the negro slaves in the several neighbouring parishes had revolted, and were at that moment carrying death and desolation over the adjoining large and beautiful plain to the North-east. The governor, and most of the military officers on duty, assembled together; but the reports were so confused and contradictory, as to gain but little credit; when, as day-light began to break, the sudden and successive arrival, with ghastly countenances, of persons who had with difficulty escaped the massacre, and flown to the town

CHAP. VI.

for protection, brought a dreadful confirmation of the fatal tidings.

THE rebellion firſt broke out on a plantation called *Noé*, in the pariſh of *Acul*, nine miles only from the city. Twelve or fourteen of the ringleaders, about the middle of the night, proceeded to the refinery, or ſugar-houſe, and ſeized on a young man, the refiner's apprentice, dragged him to the front of the dwelling-houſe, and there hewed him into pieces with their cutlaſſes: his ſcreams brought out the overſeer, whom they inſtantly ſhot. The rebels now found their way to the apartment of the refiner, and maſſacred him in his bed. A young man lying ſick in a neighbouring chamber, was left apparently dead of the wounds inflicted by their cutlaſſes: he had ſtrength enough however to crawl to the next plantation, and relate the horrors he had witneſſed. He reported, that all the whites of the eſtate which he had left were murdered, except only the ſurgeon, whom the rebels had compelled to accompany them, on the idea that they might ſtand in need of his profeſſional aſſiſtance. Alarmed by this intelligence, the perſons to whom it was communicated immediately ſought their ſafety in flight. What became of the poor youth I have never been informed.

THE revolters (conſiſting now of all the ſlaves belonging to that plantation) proceeded to the houſe of a Mr. Clement, by whoſe negroes alſo they were immediately joined, and both he and his refiner were maſſacred. The murderer of Mr. Clement was his own poſtillion, a man to whom he had always ſhewn great kindneſs. The other white people on this eſtate contrived to make their eſcape.

AT

CHAP. VI.

At this juncture, the negroes on the plantation of M. Flaville, a few miles diſtant, likewiſe roſe and murdered five white perſons, one of whom (the *procureur* or attorney for the eſtate) had a wife and three daughters. Theſe unfortunate women, while imploring for mercy of the ſavages on their knees, beheld their huſband and father murdered before their faces. For themſelves, they were devoted to a more horrid fate, and were carried away captives by the aſſaſſins.

The approach of day-light ſerved only to diſcover ſights of horror. It was now apparent that the negroes on all the eſtates in the plain acted in concert, and a general maſſacre of the whites took place in every quarter. On ſome few eſtates indeed the lives of the women were ſpared, but they were reſerved only to gratify the brutal appetites of the ruffians; and it is ſhocking to relate, that many of them ſuffered violation on the dead bodies of their huſbands and fathers!

In the town itſelf, the general belief for ſome time was, that the revolt was by no means an extenſive, but a ſudden and partial inſurrection only. The largeſt ſugar plantation on the plain was that of Monſ. Gallifet, ſituated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which had always been treated with ſuch kindneſs and liberality, and poſſeſſed ſo many advantages, that it became a proverbial expreſſion among the lower white people, in ſpeaking of any man's good fortune, to ſay *il eſt heureux comme un negre de Gallifet* (he is as happy as one of Gallifet's negroes). M. Odeluc, the attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the general aſſembly, and being

CHAP. VI.

fully perſuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm in their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in oppoſing the inſurgents; to which end, he deſired the aſſiſtance of a few ſoldiers from the town-guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly, but on approaching the eſtate, to his ſurpriſe and grief he found all the negroes in arms on the ſide of the rebels, and (horrid to tell!) *their ſtandard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a ſtake!* M. Odeluc had advanced too far to retreat undiſcovered, and both he, and a friend that accompanied him, with moſt of the ſoldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three only of the patrole, eſcaped by flight; and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.

By this time, all or moſt of the white perſons that had been found on the ſeveral plantations, being maſſacred or forced to ſeek their ſafety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the ſword for the torch. The buildings and cane-fields were every where ſet on fire; and the conflagrations, which were viſible from the town, in a thouſand different quarters, furniſhed a proſpect more ſhocking, and reflections more diſmal, than fancy can paint, or the powers of man deſcribe.

Consternation and terror now took poſſeſſion of every mind; and the ſcreams of the women and children, running from door to door, heightened the horrors of the ſcene. All the citizens took up arms, and the general aſſembly veſted the governor with the command of the national guards, requeſting him to give ſuch orders as the urgency of the caſe ſeemed to demand.

One

CHAP. VI.

ONE of the firſt meaſures was to ſend the white women and children on board the ſhips in the harbour; and very ſerious apprehenſions being entertained concerning the domeſtick negroes within the town, a great proportion of the ableſt men among them were likewiſe ſent on ſhipboard and cloſely guarded.

THERE ſtill remained in the city a conſiderable body of free mulattoes, who had not taken, or affected not to take, any part in the diſputes between their brethren of colour and the white inhabitants. Their ſituation was extremely critical; for the lower claſs of whites, conſidering the mulattoes as the immediate authors of the rebellion, marked them for deſtruction; and the whole number in the town would undoubtedly have been murdered without ſcruple, if the governor and the colonial aſſembly had not vigorouſly interpoſed, and taken them under their immediate protection. Grateful for this interpoſition in their favour (perhaps not thinking their lives otherwiſe ſecure) all the able men among them offered to march immediately againſt the rebels, and to leave their wives and children as hoſtages for their fidelity. Their offer was accepted, and they were enrolled in different companies of the militia.

THE aſſembly continued their deliberations throughout the night, amidſt the glare of the ſurrounding conflagrations; and the inhabitants, being ſtrengthened by a number of ſeamen from the ſhips, and brought into ſome degree of order and military ſubordination, were now deſirous that a detachment ſhould be ſent to attack the ſtrongeſt body of the revolters. Orders were given accordingly;

CHAP. VI.

cordingly; and M. de Touzard, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the North Americans, took the command of a party of militia and troops of the line. With theſe, he marched to the plantation of a M. Latour, and attacked a body of about four thouſand of the rebel negroes. Many were deſtroyed, but to little purpoſe; for Touzard, finding the number of revolters to encreaſe in more than a centuple proportion to their loſſes, was at length obliged to retreat; and it cannot be doubted, that if the rebels had forthwith proceeded to the town, defenceleſs as it then was towards the plain, they might have fired it without difficulty, and deſtroyed all its inhabitants, or compelled them to fly to the ſhipping for refuge.

SENSIBLE of this, the governor, by the advice of the aſſembly, determined to act for ſome time ſolely on the defenſive; and as it was every moment to be apprehended that the revolters would pour down upon the town, the firſt meaſure reſorted to was to fortify the roads and paſſes leading into it. At the eaſtern extremity, the main road from the plain is interſected by a river, which luckily had no bridge over it, and was croſſed in ferry boats. For the defence of this paſſage, a battery of cannon was raiſed on boats laſhed together; while two ſmall camps were formed at proper diſtances on the banks. The other principal entrance into the town, and contiguous to it towards the ſouth, was through a mountainous diſtrict, called *le Haut du Cap*. Poſſeſſion was immediately taken of theſe heights, and conſiderable bodies of troops, with ſuch artillery as could be ſpared, were ſtationed thereon. But theſe precautions not being thought ſufficient, it was alſo determined to ſurround the whole of the town, except

CHAP. VI.

except the ſide next the ſea, with a ſtrong paliſade and *chevaux de frize*; in the erecting and completing of which, all the inhabitants laboured without diſtinction or intermiſſion. At the ſame time, an embargo was laid on all the ſhipping in the harbour; a meaſure of indiſpenſible neceſſity, calculated as well to obtain the aſſiſtance of the ſeamen, as to ſecure a retreat for the inhabitants in the laſt extremity.

To ſuch of the diſtant pariſhes as were open to communication either by land or by ſea, notice of the revolt had been tranſmitted within a few hours after advice of it was received at the Cape; and the white inhabitants of many of thoſe pariſhes had therefore found time to eſtabliſh camps, and form a chain of poſts, which for a ſhort time ſeemed to prevent the rebellion ſpreading beyond the Northern province *(a)*. Two of thoſe camps however, one at *Grande Riviere*, the other at *Dondon*, were attacked by the negroes (who were here openly joined by the mulattoes) and forced with great ſlaughter. At Dondon, the whites maintained the conteſt for ſeven hours; but were overpowered by the infinite diſparity of numbers, and compelled to give way, with the loſs of upwards of one hundred of their body. The ſurvivors took refuge in the Spaniſh territory.

THESE two diſtricts therefore; the whole of the rich and extenſive plain of the Cape, together with the contiguous moun-

(a) It is believed that a general inſurrection was to have taken place throughout the colony on the 25th of Auguſt (St. Louis's day); but that the impatience and impetuoſity of ſome negroes on the plain, induced them to commence their operations two days before the time.

CHAP. VI.

tains, were now wholly abandoned to the ravages of the enemy, and the cruelties which they exerciſed, uncontrouled, on ſuch of the miſerable whites as fell into their hands, cannot be remembered without horror, nor reported in terms ſtrong enough to convey a proper idea of their atrocity.

THEY ſeized Mr. Blen, an officer of the police, and having nailed him alive to one of the gates of his plantation, chopped off his limbs, one by one, with an axe.

A POOR man named *Robert*, a carpenter by trade, endeavouring to conceal himſelf from the notice of the rebels, was diſcovered in his hiding-place; and the ſavages declared *that he ſhould die in the way of his occupation:* accordingly they bound him between two boards, and deliberately ſawed him aſunder.

M. CARDINEAU, a planter of *Grande Riviere*, had two natural ſons by a black woman. He had manumitted them in their infancy, and bred them up with great tenderneſs. They both joined in the revolt; and when their father endeavoured to divert them from their purpoſe, by ſoothing language and pecuniary offers, they took his money, and then ſtabbed him to the heart.

ALL the white, and even the mulatto children whoſe fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception, frequently before the eyes, or clinging to the boſoms, of their mothers. Young women of all ranks were firſt violated by a whole troop of barbarians, and then generally put to death.

Some

Some of them were indeed reſerved for the further gratification of the luſt of the ſavages, and others had their eyes ſcooped out with a knife.

In the pariſh of *Limbè*, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by a ſavage ringleader of a band, who raviſhed the eldeſt daughter in his preſence, and delivered over the youngeſt to one of his followers: their paſſion being ſatisfied, they ſlaughtered both the father and the daughters.

Amidst theſe ſcenes of horror, one inſtance however occurs of ſuch fidelity and attachment in a negro, as is equally unexpected and affecting. Monſ. and Madame Baillon, their daughter and ſon-in-law, and two white ſervants, reſiding on a mountain plantation about thirty miles from Cape François, were apprized of the revolt by one of their own ſlaves, who was himſelf in the conſpiracy, but promiſed, if poſſible, to ſave the lives of his maſter and his family. Having no immediate means of providing for their eſcape, he conducted them into an adjacent wood; after which he went and joined the revolters. The following night, he found an opportunity of bringing them proviſions from the rebel camp. The ſecond night he returned again, with a further ſupply of proviſions; but declared that it would be out of his power to give them any further aſſiſtance. After this, they ſaw nothing of the negro for three days; but at the end of that time he came again; and directed the family how to make their way to a river which led to Port Margot, aſſuring them they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he deſcribed. They followed his di-

CHAP. VI.

rections; found the canoe, and got safely into it; but were overset by the rapidity of the current, and after a narrow escape, thought it best to return to their retreat in the mountains. The negro, anxious for their safety, again found them out, and directed them to a broader part of the river, where he assured them he had provided a boat; but said it was the last effort he could make to save them. They went accordingly, but not finding the boat, gave themselves up for lost, when the faithful negro again appeared like their guardian angel. He brought with him pigeons, poultry, and bread; and conducted the family, by slow marches in the night, along the banks of the river, until they were within sight of the wharf at Port Margot; when telling them they were entirely out of danger, he took his leave for ever, and went to join the rebels. The family were in the woods nineteen nights.

Let us now turn our attention back to the town of the Cape; where, the inhabitants being at length placed, or supposed to be placed, in some sort of security, it was thought necessary by the governor and assembly, that offensive operations against the rebels should be renewed, and a small army, under the command of M. Rouvray, marched to the eastern part of the plain, and encamped at a place called *Roucrõu*. A very considerable body of the rebel negroes took possession, about the same time, of the large buildings on the plantation of M. Gallifet, and mounted some heavy pieces of artillery on the walls. They had procured the cannon at different shipping places and harbours along the coast, where it had been placed in time of war by the government, and imprudently left unprotected; but it was a matter

ter of great ſurprize by what means they obtained ammunition *(b)*. From this plantation they ſent out foraging parties, with which the whites had frequent ſkirmiſhes. In theſe engagements, the negroes ſeldom ſtood their ground longer than to receive and return a ſingle volley, but they appeared again the next day; and though they were at length driven out of their entrenchments with infinite ſlaughter, yet their numbers ſeemed not to diminiſh:—as ſoon as one body was cut off, another appeared, and thus they ſucceeded in the object of haraſſing and deſtroying the whites by perpetual fatigue, and reducing the country to a deſert.

To detail the various conflicts, ſkirmiſhes, maſſacres, and ſcenes of ſlaughter, which this exterminating war produced, were to offer a diſguſting and frightful picture;—a combination of horrors;—wherein we ſhould behold cruelties unexampled in the annals of mankind; human blood poured forth in torrents; the earth blackened with aſhes, and the air tainted with peſtilence. It was computed that, within two months after the revolt firſt began, upwards of two thouſand white perſons, of all conditions and ages, had been maſſacred;—that one hundred and eighty ſugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton,

(b) It was diſcovered afterwards, that great quantities of powder and ball were ſtolen by the negroes in the town of Cape François from the king's arſenal, and ſecretly conveyed to the rebels. Moſt of the fire-arms at firſt in their poſſeſſion were ſuppoſed to have been part of *Ogé*'s importation. But it grieves me to add, that the rebels were afterwards abundantly ſupplied, by ſmall veſſels from North America; the maſters of which felt no ſcruple to receive in payment ſugar and rum, from eſtates of which the owners had been murdered by the men with whom they trafficked.

and

CHAP. VI.

and indigo ſettlements had been deſtroyed (the buildings thereon being conſumed by fire), and one thouſand two hundred chriſtian families reduced from opulence, to ſuch a ſtate of miſery as to depend altogether for their clothing and ſuſtenance on publick and private charity. Of the inſurgents, it was reckoned that upwards of ten thouſand had periſhed by the ſword or by famine; and ſome hundreds by the hands of the executioner;—many of them, I grieve to ſay, under the torture of the wheel;—a ſyſtem of revenge and retaliation, which no enormities of ſavage life could juſtify or excuſe *(c)*.

HITHERTO, my narrative has applied chiefly to tranſactions in the Northern province; I grieve to relate, that the flames of

(c) Two of theſe unhappy men ſuffered in this manner under the window of the author's lodgings, and in his preſence, at Cape François, on Thurſday the 28th of September 1791. They were broken on two pieces of timber placed croſswiſe. One of them expired on receiving the third ſtroke on his ſtomach, each of his legs and arms having been firſt broken in two places; the firſt three blows he bore without a groan. The other had a harder fate. When the executioner, after breaking his legs and arms, lifted up the inſtrument to give the finiſhing ſtroke on the breaſt, and which (by putting the criminal out of his pain) is called *le coup de grace*, the mob, with the ferociouſneſs of cannibals, called out *arretez!* (ſtop) and compelled him to leave his work unfiniſhed. In that condition, the miſerable wretch, with his broken limbs doubled up, was put on a cart-wheel, which was placed horizontally, one end of the axle-tree being driven into the earth. He ſeemed perfectly ſenſible, but uttered not a groan. At the end of forty minutes, ſome Engliſh ſeamen, who were ſpectators of the tragedy, ſtrangled him in mercy. As to all the French ſpectators (many of them perſons of faſhion, who beheld the ſcene from the windows of their upper apartments), it grieves me to ſay, that they looked on with the moſt perfect compoſure and *ſang froid*. Some of the ladies, as I was told, even ridiculed, with a great deal of unſeemly mirth, the ſympathy manifeſted by the Engliſh at the ſufferings of the wretched criminals.

rebellion

CHAP. VI.

rebellion ſoon began to break forth alſo in the Weſtern diviſion. Here, however, the inſurgents were chiefly men of colour, of whom upwards of two thouſand appeared in arms in the pariſh of Mirebalais. Being joined by about ſix hundred of the negro ſlaves, they began their operations by burning the coffee plantations in the mountains adjacent to the plain of Cul-de-Sac. Some detachments of the military which were ſent againſt them from Port au Prince were repulſed; and the inſurgents continued to ravage and burn the country through an extent of thirty miles, practiſing the ſame exceſſes and ferocious barbarities towards ſuch of the whites as fell into their hands, as were diſplayed by the rebels in the North. They had the audacity at length to approach Port au Prince, with intention, as it was believed, to ſet it on fire; and ſo defenceleſs was the ſtate of that devoted town, that its deſtruction ſeemed inevitable. Many of the mulatto chiefs, however, finding that their attempts to gain over the negro ſlaves on the ſugar plantations in this part of the country, were not attended with that ſucceſs which they expected, expreſſed an unwillingneſs to proceed to this extremity; declaring that they took up arms not to deſolate the colony, but merely to ſupport the national decree of the 15th of May, and that they were not averſe to a reconciliation. Theſe ſentiments coming to the knowledge of M. de *Jumecourt*, a planter of eminence, he undertook the office of mediator, and through his well-timed and powerful interpoſition, a truce or convention, called the *concordat*, was agreed upon the 11th of September, between the free people of colour, and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince, of which the chief proviſions were an oblivion of the paſt, and an engagement on the part of the whites, to admit in full

CHAP. VI.

full force the national decree of the 15th of May, ſo often mentioned;—certainly the oſtenſible, though perhaps not the ſole and original cauſe of the rebellion.

INSTRUCTED by this example, and ſoftened, it may be preſumed, by the loyal and temperate conduct of the free mulattoes in the town of Cape François, as before related, the general aſ-
1791. ſembly, by a proclamation of the 20th of September, declared that they would no longer oppoſe the operation of the ſame decree. They even went further, and announced an intention to grant conſiderable indulgences towards ſuch free people of colour as were not comprehended in it, meaning thoſe who were born of enſlaved parents. They voted at the ſame time the formation of certain free companies of mulattoes, wherein the men of colour of all deſcriptions, poſſeſſed of certain qualifications, ſhould be allowed to ſerve as commiſſioned officers.

THESE conceſſions, at an earlier period, would have operated with powerful effect in the ſalvation of the colony; but they now came too late, and produced only a partial truce, a temporary and fallacious ceſſation of miſeries. The wounds that had been inflicted were yet green and bleeding; and the dark and ſullen paſſions of diſappointed pride, anger, malice, hatred and revenge, were ſecretly burning in the gloomy minds of all parties. The flames were ſmothered, not extinguiſhed; ſoon to break out again, with aggravated violence and greater fury than ever.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Motives which induced the People of Colour to join the revolted Negroes—Conduct of the Britiſh Aſſociation for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and of the Society in Paris called Les Amis des Noirs—*Letter from Abbé Gregoire to the People of Colour—Repeal of the Decree of the* 15*th May* 1791—*Effects of that Meaſure—Civil War with the Mulattoes renewed—Port au Prince deſtroyed by Fire—Cruelties exerciſed by both Parties—Arrival at Cape François of the Civil Commiſſioners.*

CHAP. VII.

BEFORE I proceed to a renewal of thoſe diſguſting ſcenes of devaſtation, ſlaughter, and ruin, which my duty, as a faithful hiſtorian, calls upon me to deſcribe (happy if they ſerve as an impreſſive leſſon to other nations!) it ſeems neceſſary to remove ſome difficulties which may poſſibly have ariſen in the mind of the reader, concerning the original and primary cauſe of the junction and co-operation of ſo large a number of the negro ſlaves, in this rebellion, with the men of colour. That the whole body of the latter in St. Domingo had ſolid ground of complaint and diſſatisfaction, cannot be denied. There is a point at which oppreſſion ſometimes arrives, when forbearance under it ceaſes to be a virtue; and I ſhould readily have admitted that the actual ſituation and condition of the mulattoes in the French iſlands would have made reſiſtance a duty, if it

CHAP. VII.

did not appear, from what I have already related, that the redreſs of their grievances occupied the very firſt deliberations of the firſt general aſſembly of repreſentatives that ever met in St. Domingo. Certainly, then, no juſtification can be offered for thoſe peſtilent reformers, who could perſuade theſe unfortunate people to ſeek that relief by rebellion and maſſacre, which was offered to them by the ſupreme power of the country, as a ſpontaneous and voluntary conceſſion;—the homage of enlightened reaſon on the altar of humanity. Concerning the enſlaved negroes, however, it does not appear that the conduct of the whites towards them was in general reprehenſible. I believe, on the whole, it was as lenient and indulgent as was conſiſtent with their own ſafety. It was the mulatto people themſelves who were the hard-hearted taſk-maſters to the negroes. The ſame indignities which they received from the whites, they directed without ſcruple towards the blacks; exerciſing over the latter every ſpecies of that oppreſſion which they loudly and juſtly complained of, when exerciſed on themſelves;—and this is a true picture of human nature. By what means, then, it will be aſked, were the negroes induced to forget their reſentments, and join with thoſe who were the conſtant objects both of their envy and hatred?

In order to reply to this queſtion, with as much accuracy and preciſion as the ſubject will admit, it is neceſſary to recur to the proceedings of the two aſſociations, of which mention was made in the Second Chapter of this Hiſtory; namely, the Britiſh aſſociation for the abolition of the ſlave trade, which held its meetings in the Old Jewry in London; and the ſociety called

Les Amis des Noirs in Paris. A ſhort review of the conduct of theſe ſocieties will ſerve not only to leſſen the ſurprize which may be felt at the revolt of the negroes of St. Domingo, but alſo raiſe a conſiderable degree of aſtoniſhment that the enſlaved negroes in the Britiſh iſlands had not given them the example.

I HAVE obſerved, that the ſociety in London *profeſſed* to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legiſlature for prohibiting the further introduction of African ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies. I have ſaid, that "they diſclaimed all intention of interfering with the government and condition of "the negroes already in the plantations; publickly declaring "their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of thoſe "people, in their preſent ſtate of ignorance and barbarity, inſtead "of a bleſſing, would prove to them the ſource of misfortune and "miſery." But although ſuch were their oſtenſible declarations as a publick body, the leading members of the ſociety, in the ſame moment, held a very different language; and even the ſociety itſelf (acting as ſuch) purſued a line of conduct directly and immediately repugnant to their own profeſſions. Beſides uſing every poſſible endeavour to inflame the publick of Great Britain againſt the planters, they diſtributed at a prodigious expence throughout the colonies, tracts and pamphlets without number, the direct tendency of which was to render the white inhabitants odious and contemptible in the eyes of their own ſlaves, and excite in the latter ſuch ideas of their natural rights and equality of condition, as ſhould lead them to a general ſtruggle for freedom through rebellion and bloodſhed. In many of thoſe writings, arguments are expreſsly adduced, in language which can-

CHAP. VII.

not be misunderstood, to urge the negroes to rise up and murder their masters without mercy.—" Resistance," say they, " is al-" ways justifiable where force is the substitute of right: *nor is* " *the commission of a civil crime possible in a state of slavery.*" These sentiments are repeated in a thousand different forms; and in order that they might not lose their effect by abstract reasoning, a reverend divine of the church of England, in a pamphlet addressed to the chairman or president of the society, pours forth the most earnest prayers, in the most undisguised expressions, that the negroes would destroy all the white people, men, women, and children, in the West Indies: " Should we " not, (he exclaims) approve their conduct in their violence? " Should we not crown it with eulogium, if they exterminate " their tyrants with fire and sword! *Should they even deliberately* " *inflict the most exquisite tortures on those tyrants, would they not* " *be excusable* in the moral judgment of those who properly va-" lue those inestimable blessings, rational and religious li-" berty *(a)*?"

Besides distributing pamphlets of this complexion *gratis*, at the doors of all the churches and places of worship in the kingdom, and throughout the colonies, the society caused a medal to be struck, containing the figure of a naked negro, loaded with

(a) This is a fair extract from a letter addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq; chairman of the society in the Old Jewry, by the Reverend Percival Stockdale, A. M. Of such writers the planters may well exclaim, " *Forgive them, they know not what* " *they do!*" The same ejaculation I applied to the learned and pious Samuel Johnson, who possessed a negro servant, and before whom he frequently gave as a toast, " *A speedy rebellion of the negroes in Jamaica, and success to them!*"

chains,

chains, and in the attitude of imploring mercy; thouſands of which alſo they found means to diſperſe among the negroes in each of the ſugar iſlands, for the inſtruction, I preſume, of ſuch of them as could not read; but, unhappily, this inſtance of provident caution was not requiſite; for ſo many negro domeſticks return annually from Europe to the Weſt Indies, as conſtantly furniſh a ſufficient number of living inſtructors; and certain it is (I pronounce it from my own knowledge reſpecting Jamaica) that the labours of the ſociety on their behalf, as well as many of the moſt violent ſpeeches in the Britiſh parliament, wherein the whole body of planters were painted as a herd of blood-thirſty and remorſeleſs tyrants, were explained to the negro ſlaves, in terms well adapted to their capacities, and ſuited, as might have been ſuppoſed, to their feelings. It will be difficult to ſay what other meaſures the Old Jewry aſſociates could have taken to excite a rebellion, except that of furniſhing the objects of their ſolicitude with fire arms and ammunition.

HITHERTO, this ſociety had ſerved as a model and exemplar to that of Paris; but a diſpoſition to ſtop at half meaſures conſtitutes no part of the French character; and the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* reſorted, without ſcruple, to thoſe meaſures which their fellow labourers in London ſtill heſitated to adopt: beginning with the claſs of free mulattoes, becauſe they found many of them in France, who became the willing inſtruments of their purpoſes; and who undertook to interpret to the negroes in the French colonies the wiſhes and good intentions towards them of their friends in the mother country. Thus an opening was made towards conciliation and union between the two

CHAP. VII.

two claſſes. The negroes, apprized that it was only through the agency of the mulattoes, and the connections of thoſe people in France, they could obtain a regular ſupply of arms and ammunition, forgot or ſuſpended their ancient animoſities; and the men of colour, ſenſible that nothing but the co-operation of the enſlaved negroes (docile, as they ſuppoſed them to be, from their ignorance, and irreſiſtible from their numbers) could give ſucceſs to their cauſe, courted them with ſuch aſſiduity as gained over at leaſt nine-tenths of all the ſlaves in the Northern province of St. Domingo.

THERE ſeems however to have been ſome apprehenſions entertained by the leading men among the *Amis des Noirs*, that the decree of the national aſſembly of the 15th of May, confined as the benefits of it were to the people of colour excluſively, (and of thoſe, to ſuch only as were born of free parents) might give riſe to jealouſies and ſuſpicions, deſtructive of that unanimity between the different claſſes, the maintenance of which was an object of the laſt importance. To obviate any miſapprehenſions on this account, as well as to keep the mulattoes firm to their purpoſe, the Abbé Gregoire wrote and publiſhed his celebrated circular letter;—a performance which, if the intentions of the writer had been as pure as his expreſſions are eloquent, would have reflected luſtre on his abilities *(b)*. What effect this diſtinguiſhed piece of oratory may have had on the rugged and unenlightened minds of ſavage people,

(b) The reader will find a tranſlation of this letter at the end of the preſent Chapter.

I pretend

I pretend not to aſcertain. It is certain, that the Abbé Gregoire was conſidered by the negroes in St. Domingo as their great advocate and patron; a ſort of guardian angel or tutelary deity; of the good effects of whoſe benevolent interpoſition and friendly offices their maſters unjuſtly deprived them, and on whoſe ſupport and aſſiſtance they might confidently rely, in the attempt, through rebellion and murder, to obtain juſtice for themſelves.

Both claſſes of people being thus inſtructed and prepared, the decree of the 15th of May was the ſignal of revolt, the war-hoop of maſſacre. From the clamour which it excited amongſt all orders of the whites in St. Domingo (the lower claſſes eſpecially) the people of colour, as I have ſhewn, had reaſon to apprehend that miſchiefs of an extenſive and alarming nature were meditated againſt them. They were thus furniſhed with a plauſible, and, had they meant to have acted ſolely on the defenſive, a juſtifiable cauſe for reſorting to arms; but, unhappily, the ſtrong tide of popular prejudice which prevailed in the mother country againſt the planters, and the great majority which voted for the fatal decree in the national aſſembly, were circumſtances that inſpired them with ſo dangerous a confidence in their own reſources, as overpowered all conſiderations of prudence, policy, and humanity.

It muſt be conſidered, at the ſame time, that the enſlaved negroes (ignorant and depreſſed as we ſuppoſe them to be) could not poſſibly be unobſervant of theſe combined and concurring circumſtances. They beheld the coloured people in open hoſtility

CHAP. VII.

lity againſt the whites. They were aſſured, that the former had the fulleſt ſupport and encouragement from the ſupreme legiſlature of the mother country. They were taught to believe, that themſelves alſo were become the objects of the paternal ſolicitude of the king and the national aſſembly, who wiſhed to reſcue them from the dominion of their maſters, and inveſt them with their eſtates. It appeared from indiſputable evidence, that aſſurances of this nature were held out to the enſlaved negroes;—aſſurances which could not but excite their attention, awaken their faculties, and rouze them to action. Whoever ſhall calmly deliberate on theſe, and the other facts that have been ſtated, will find no difficulty in accounting for the dreadful extent of this inſurrection; or in aſſigning it to its proper cauſe, and tracing to the fountain-head thoſe rivers of blood which ſtill continue to flow in this unfortunate and devoted colony *(c)*!

(c) In September 1791, when the author was at Cape François, he dined with a large company, on board the frigate *la Prudente*, commanded by Monſ. *Joyeuſe* (at preſent a diſtinguiſhed admiral in the ſervice of the new republick, by the name of *Villaret)* when, in the midſt of the entertainment, a loud exclamation from the crew announced *that the gunner was returned.* This man, who had been miſſing ſome weeks, was immediately brought forward, and gave the following account of the cauſe of his abſence. He ſaid that, having gone on ſhore, to collect green meat for the pigs, he was ſurrounded by the rebel negroes, who were about putting him to death, when Jean François, the chief, finding that he was an officer in the king's ſervice, ordered that his life ſhould be ſpared, alledging *that the king was their friend.* They detained him however as a priſoner, and compelled him to load and point their artillery in the attack at M. Gallifet's plantation before-mentioned. On the defeat of the rebels in that engagement, he fortunately made his eſcape from them. Some of the ſhocking enormities and cruelties inflicted by the rebels on their white priſoners, as related in the preceding pages, were committed in this man's preſence.

CHAP. VII.

BUT it is now time to advert to the proceedings which occurred in France, where we left *Gregoire*, *La Fayette*, *Roberſpierre*, and the reſt of the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs*, exulting in the triumph they had obtained on the 15th of May; and perhaps waiting, in the ardent hope and expectation, that their obnoxious decree of that date, would produce thoſe very evils which actually reſulted from it. It was not until the beginning of September that information arrived at Paris concerning the reception which the account of this decree had met with in St. Domingo. The tumults, diſorders, and confuſions that it produced there, were now repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colouring, and the loſs of the colony to France was univerſally apprehended. At this time, however, no ſuſpicion was entertained concerning the enſlaved negroes; but a civil war, between the whites and the mulattoes, was believed to be inevitable. The commercial and manufacturing towns, predicting the ruin of their trade and ſhipping, and the loſs of their capitals from exiſting dangers, preſented remonſtrances and petitions to the national aſſembly, urging the neceſſity of an immediate repeal of all the decrees by which the rights of the planters were invaded; that of the 15th of May eſpecially. The conſtituent national aſſembly was now on the point of diſſolution, and perhaps wiſhed to leave every thing in peace. At the ſame time the tide of popular prejudice, which had hitherto ran with ſuch violence againſt the coloniſts, was beginning to turn. Moſt of thoſe members whoſe opinions in colonial concerns, a few months before, had guided the deliberations of the national aſſembly, were now either ſilently diſregarded, or treated with outrage; — a ſtrong and ſtriking proof of the lightneſs and verſatility of the French

CHAP. VII. 1791.

character. At length, a motion was made to annul the obnoxious decree, and (ſtrange to tell!) on the 24th of September its repeal was actually voted by a large majority!—At this remarkable change of ſentiment in the ſupreme legiſlature, it is neceſſary to pauſe, and remind the reader of what was doing at the ſame time in St. Domingo; where, as we have ſeen, on the 11th of that very month, the *concordat*, or truce, took place between the people of colour and the white inhabitants of Port au Prince; and on the 20th, the colonial aſſembly of Cape François publiſhed the proclamation mentioned in the latter part of the preceding Chapter. Thus, almoſt in the very moment when the juſtice and neceſſity of the decree were acknowledged, and its faithful obſervance promiſed by the colonial aſſembly, its repeal was pronounced by the national legiſlature in the mother country!

To ſuch repugnancy and abſurdity muſt every government be driven that attempts to regulate and direct the local concerns of a country three thouſand miles diſtant. Of the two meaſures that have been mentioned, it is difficult to ſay which produced the greateſt calamities; the decree of the 15th of May in the firſt inſtance; or its unexpected repeal, at the time and in the manner related! Doubts had already ariſen in the minds of the mulattoes of the ſincerity and good faith of the white people, with reſpect to the *concordat*. Their ſuſpicions and apprehenſions had indeed grown to ſuch a height, as to induce them to inſiſt on a renewal and confirmation of its proviſions; which were accordingly granted them, by a new inſtrument or treaty of the 11th of October, and a ſupplementary agreement of the 20th of the ſame month: but

CHAP. VII.

but no ſooner was authentick information received of the proceedings in France, in the repeal of the decree, than all truſt and confidence, and every hope of reconciliation and amity between the two claſſes, vaniſhed for ever. It was not poſſible to perſuade the mulattoes that the planters in the colony were innocent, and ignorant of the tranſaction. They accuſed the whites of the moſt horrid duplicity, faithleſsneſs and treachery; and publickly declared that one party or the other, themſelves or the whites, muſt be utterly deſtroyed and exterminated:—There was no longer, they ſaid, an alternative.

In this diſpoſition, exaſperated to frenzy, the coloured people throughout the Weſtern and Southern provinces flew to arms. In the Southern province, a body of them became maſters of Port St. Louis; but the inhabitants of Port au Prince, having been reinforced, a ſhort time before, by the arrival of ſome troops from Europe, were better prepared, and drove the revolters from the city with great ſlaughter. They took poſt in the pariſh of *Croix des Bouquets*; but found means, however, before their retreat, to ſet fire to the city, and a dreadful conflagration enſued, in which more than one-third of the buildings were conſumed.

Open war, and war in all its horrors, was now renewed. All the ſoft workings of humanity—what Shakeſpeare calls the *compunctious viſitings of nature*—were now abſorbed in the raging and inſatiable thirſt of revenge, which inflamed each claſs alike. It was no longer a conteſt for mere victory, but a diabolical emulation which party could inflict the moſt abominable cruel-

CHAP. VII.

ties on the other. The enſlaved negroes in the diſtrict called *Cul de Sac* having joined the mulattoes, a bloody engagement took place, in which the negroes, being ranged in front, and acting without any kind of diſcipline, left two thouſand of their number dead on the field. Of the mulattoes about fifty were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners. The whites claimed the victory; but for want of cavalry were unable to improve it by a purſuit, and contented themſelves with ſatiating their revenge on their captives. Every refinement in cruelty that the moſt depraved imagination could ſuggeſt, was practiſed on the perſons of thoſe wretched men. One of the mulatto leaders was unhappily among the number: him the victors placed on an elevated ſeat in a cart, and ſecured him in it by driving large ſpiked nails through his feet into the boards. In this condition he was drawn a miſerable ſpectacle through the city. His bones were afterwards broken, and he was then thrown alive into the flames!

THE mulattoes ſcorned to be outdone in deeds of vengeance, and atrocities ſhameful to humanity. In the neighbourhood of *Jeremie* a body of them attacked the houſe of M. Sejourné, and ſecured the perſons both of him and his wife. This unfortunate woman (my hand trembles while I write!) was far advanced in her pregnancy. The monſters, whoſe priſoner ſhe was, having firſt murdered her huſband in her preſence, ripped her up alive, and threw the infant to the hogs.—They then (how ſhall I relate it!) ſewed up the head of the murdered huſband in — — ! ! ! —Such are thy triumphs, philanthropy!

WITH

CHAP. VII.

WITH theſe enormities terminated the diſaſtrous year 1791. Juſt before Chriſtmas the three civil commiſſioners nominated by the national aſſembly for St. Domingo, arrived at Cape François. Much was expected from their appointment by the friends of peace and good order; but the ſequel will ſhew that they effected very little towards reſtoring the peace of the country.

Tranſlation of the Letter of ABBE GREGOIRE, *Biſhop of the Department of Loire and Cher, Deputy of the National Aſſembly, to the Citizens of Colour in the French Weſt Indies, concerning the Decree of the* 15*th of May* 1791.

FRIENDS!

YOU *were* MEN;—you *are* now CITIZENS. Reinſtated in the fulneſs of your rights, you will in future participate of the ſovereignty of the people. The decree which the national aſſembly has juſt publiſhed reſpecting you, is not *a favour*; for a favour is *a privilege:* and a privilege to one claſs of people is an injury to all the reſt.—They are words which will no longer diſgrace the laws of the French.

IN ſecuring to you the exerciſe of your political rights, we have acquitted ourſelves of *a debt:*—not to have paid it, would have been a crime on our part, and a diſgrace to the conſtitution. The legiſlators of a free nation certainly could not do leſs for you than our ancient deſpots have done.

IT is now above a century that Louis the XIVth ſolemnly acknowledged and proclaimed your rights; but of this ſacred inheritance you have been defrauded by pride and avarice, which have gradually increaſed your burthens, and embittered your exiſtence.

THE

CHAP. VII.

THE regeneration of the French empire opened your hearts to hope, whoſe cheering influence has alleviated the weight of your miſeries: miſeries of which the people of Europe had no idea. While the white planters reſident among us were loud in their complaints againſt *miniſterial* tyranny, they took eſpecial care to be ſilent *as to their own*. Not a hint was ſuggeſted concerning the complaints of the unhappy people of mixed blood; who, notwithſtanding, are their own children. It is *we*, who, at the diſtance of two thouſand leagues from you, have been conſtrained to protect theſe children againſt the neglect, the contempt, the unnatural cruelty of their fathers!

BUT it is in vain that they have endeavoured to ſuppreſs the juſtice of your claims. Your groans, notwithſtanding the extent of the ocean which ſeparates us, have reached the hearts of the European Frenchmen;—for *they* have *hearts*.

GOD Almighty comprehends all men in the circle of his mercy. His love makes no diſtinction between them, but what ariſes from the different degrees of their virtues. Can laws then, which ought to be an emanation of eternal juſtice, encourage ſo culpable a partiality? Can that government, whoſe duty it is to protect alike all the members of the ſame great family, be the mother of one branch, and the ſtep-mother only of the others?

No, gentlemen:—you could not eſcape the ſolicitude of the national aſſembly. In unfolding to the eyes of the univerſe the great charter of nature, your titles were traced. An attempt had indeed been made to expunge them; but happily they are written in characters as indelible as the ſacred image of the Deity, which is graven on your countenances.

ALREADY had the national aſſembly, in the inſtructions which it prepared for the government of the colonies, on the 28th of March 1790, comprized both the whites and people of colour under one common denomination. Your enemies, in aſſerting the contrary, have publiſhed a forgery. It is inconteſtibly true, that when I demanded you ſhould be expreſsly named, a great number of members, among whom were

ſeveral planters, eagerly exclaimed, that you were already comprehended under the general words contained in thoſe inſtructions. M. Barnave himſelf, upon my repeated inſtances to him on that head, has at length acknowledged, before the whole aſſembly, that this was the fact. It now appears how much reaſon I had to apprehend that a falſe conſtruction would be put upon our decree!

New oppreſſions on the part of your maſters, and new miſeries on yours, until at length the cup of affliction is filled even to the brim, have but too well juſtified my apprehenſions. The letters which I have received from you upon this head, have forced tears from my eyes. Poſterity will learn, with aſtoniſhment and indignation, that a cauſe like yours, the juſtice of which is ſo evident, was made the ſubject of debate for no leſs than five days ſucceſſively. Alas! when humanity is obliged to ſtruggle ſo long againſt vanity and prejudice, its triumph is dearly obtained!

It is a long time that the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* have employed themſelves in finding out the means to ſoften your lot, as well as that of the ſlaves. It is difficult—perhaps impoſſible, to do good with entire impunity. The meritorious zeal of this ſociety has drawn upon them much obloquy. Deſpicable writers have lanced their poiſonous ſhafts at them, and impudent libels have never ceaſed to repeat objections and calumnies, which have been a hundred times anſwered and refuted. How often have we been accuſed of being ſold to the Engliſh, and of being paid by them for ſending you inflammatory writings and arms? You know, my friends, the weakneſs and wickedneſs of theſe charges. We have inceſſantly recommended to you attachment to your country, reſignation and patience, while waiting the return of juſtice! Nothing has been able to cool our zeal, or that of your brethren of mixed blood who are at Paris. M. Raimond, in particular, has devoted himſelf moſt heroically to your defence. With what tranſport would you have ſeen this diſtinguiſhed citizen, at the bar of the national aſſembly, of which he ought to be a member, laying before it the affecting picture of your miſeries,

CHAP. VII.

miſeries, and ſtrenuouſly claiming your rights! If that aſſembly had ſacrificed them, it would have tarniſhed its glory. It was its duty to decree with juſtice, to explain itſelf clearly, and cauſe its laws to be executed with firmneſs: it has done ſo; and if (which God forbid!) ſome event, hidden in the womb of futurity, ſhould tear our colonies from us, would it not be better to have a loſs to deplore, than an injuſtice to reproach ourſelves with?

Citizens! raiſe once more your humiliated countenances, and to the dignity of men, aſſociate the courage and nobleneſs of a free people. The 15th of May, the day in which you recovered your rights, ought to be for ever memorable to you and to your children. This epoch will periodically awaken in you ſentiments of gratitude towards the Supreme Being; and may your accents aſcend to the vault of heaven, towards which your grateful hands will be extended! At length you have a country. Hereafter you will ſee nothing above you but the law; while the opportunity of concurring in the framing it, will aſſure to you that indefeaſible right of all mankind, the right of obeying yourſelves only.

You have a country: and it will no longer be a land of exile, where you meet none but tyrants on the one hand, and companions in misfortune on the other; the former diſtributing, and the latter receiving, contempt and outrage. The groans of your afflictions were puniſhed as the clamours of rebellion; and ſituated between the uplifted poinard, and certain death, thoſe unhappy countries were often moiſtened with your tears, and ſometimes ſtained with your blood.

You have a country: and happineſs will ſhine on the ſeat of your nativity. You will now enjoy in peace the fruits of the fields which you have cultivated without compulſion. Then will be filled up that interval, which, placing at an immenſe diſtance from each other, the children of the ſame father, has ſuppreſſed the voice of nature, and broke the bands of fraternity aſunder. Then will the chaſte enjoyments of conjugal union take place of thoſe vile ſallies of debauchery, by which the majeſty

jeſty of moral ſentiment has been inſulted. By what ſtrange perverſion of reaſon can it be deemed diſgraceful in a white man to marry a black or mulatto woman, when it is not thought diſhonourable in him to be connected with her in the moſt licentious familiarity! CHAP. VII.

The leſs real worth a man poſſeſſes, the more he ſeeks to avail himſelf of the appearances of virtue. What can be more abſurd than to make the merit of a perſon conſiſt in different ſhades of the ſkin, or in a complexion more or leſs ſallow? The man who thinks at all muſt ſometimes bluſh at being a man, when he ſees his fellow-creatures blinded by ſuch ridiculous prejudices; but as unfortunately pride is one of thoſe failings we moſt unwillingly part with, the empire of prejudice is the moſt difficult to ſubvert: man appears to be unable to arrive at truth, until he has exhauſted his ſtrength in travelling through the different paths of error.

This prejudice againſt the mulattoes and negroes has however no exiſtence in our Eaſtern colonies. Nothing can be more affecting than the eulogium made on the people of colour, by the inhabitants of that part of the world, in the inſtructions given by them, to thoſe they have appointed their deputies to the national aſſembly. The members of the academy of ſciences pride themſelves in reckoning a mulatto of the Iſle of France in the number of their correſpondents. Among ourſelves, a worthy negro is a ſuperior officer of the diſtrict of St. Hypolite, in the department of Gard. We do not conceive that a difference of colour can be the foundation of different rights among members of the ſame political ſociety. It is therefore we find no ſuch deſpicable pride among our brave national guards, who offer themſelves to embark for the Weſt Indies to inſure the execution of our decrees. Perfectly concurring in the laudable ſentiments manifeſted by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, they acknowledge with them, that the decree reſpecting the people of colour, framed under the auſpices of prudence and wiſdom, is an homage rendered to reaſon and juſtice. While the deputies from the colonies have endeavoured to calumniate your intentions, and thoſe of the mercantile

CHAP. VII.

part of the nation, the conduct of those deputies is perfectly contradictory. Ardently soliciting their own admission among us at Versailles; swearing with us in the Tennis Court not to separate from us, until the constitution should be established, and then declaring, when the decree of the 15th of May was passed, that they could no longer continue to sit with us! This desertion is a desertion of their principles, and a breach of their solemn oaths.

All those white inhabitants of the colonies who are worthy the name of Frenchmen, have hastened to abjure such ridiculous prejudices, and have promised to regard you in future as brothers and friends. With what delightful sensations do we cite the words of the citizens of Jacmel. "We swear to obey, without reserve, the decrees of the national assembly "respecting our present and future constitution, and even such of them "as may substantially change it!" The citizens of Port au Prince tell the national assembly the same thing, in different words. "Condescend, gentlemen," say they, "to receive the oath which the municipality has taken to you, in the name of the commons of Port au "Prince, punctually to obey and execute all your decrees, and never to "swerve from them in any respect whatsoever."

Thus has philosophy enlarged its horizon in the new world, and soon will absurd prejudices have no other supporters than a few inferior tyrants, who wish to perpetuate in America, the reign of that despotism which has been abolished in France.

What would these men have said, if the people of colour had endeavoured to deprive the whites of *their* political advantages? With what energy would they not have exclaimed at such an oppression! Inflamed into madness at finding that your rights have been pointed out to you, their irritated pride may perhaps lead them to make every effort to render our decrees ineffectual. They will probably endeavour to raise such disturbances, as, by wresting the colonies from the mother country, will enable them to defraud their creditors of their just debts. They have incessantly alarmed us with threats that St. Domingo will be lost,

CHAP. VII.

loſt, if juſtice be rendered to you. In this aſſertion we have found nothing but falſehood: we pleaſe ourſelves in the belief, that our decree will draw the bands ſtill cloſer which unite you to the mother country. Your patriotiſm, your intereſt, and your affections, will concur in inducing you to confine your commercial connections to France only; and the reciprocal tributes of induſtry will eſtabliſh between her and her colonies a conſtant interchange of riches and good offices. If you act unfaithfully towards France, you will be the baſeſt and moſt abandoned of the human race. But no! generous citizens, you will not become traitors to your country: you ſhudder at the idea. Rallied, with all other good Frenchmen, around the ſtandard of liberty, you will defend our glorious conſtitution. The day ſhall arrive, when the repreſentatives of the people of colour will croſs the ocean to take their ſeats with us, and ſwear to live and die under our laws. The day ſhall arrive among you when the ſun will ſhine on none but freemen; when the rays of light ſhall no longer fall on the fetters of ſlavery. It is true, the national aſſembly has not yet raiſed the condition of the enſlaved negroes to a level with your ſituation; becauſe ſuddenly granting the rights to thoſe who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might perhaps have been a fatal preſent to them: but forget not, that they, like yourſelves, are born to freedom and perfect equality. It is in the irreſiſtible courſe of things that all nations, whoſe liberty has been invaded, ſhall recover that precious portion of their indefeaſible inheritance!

You are accuſed of treating your ſlaves much worſe than the whites: but, alas! ſo various have been the detractions with which you have been aſperſed, that it would be weakneſs in us to credit the charge. If, however, there be any foundation for what has been advanced on this head, ſo conduct yourſelves in future as to prove it will be a ſhameful calumny hereafter.

Your oppreſſors have heretofore endeavoured to hide from their ſlaves the lights of chriſtianity, becauſe the religion of mildneſs, equa-

CHAP. VII.

lity, and liberty, ſuits not with ſuch blood-thirſty men. May *your* conduct be the reverſe of *theirs*. Univerſal love is the language of the goſpel; your paſtors will make it heard among you. Open your hearts to receive this divine ſyſtem of morality. We have mitigated *your* misfortunes, alleviate, on your part, thoſe of the unhappy victims of avarice, who moiſten your fields with their ſweat, and often with their tears. Let the exiſtence of your ſlaves be no longer their torment; but by your kind treatment of them, expiate the crimes of Europe!

By leading them on progreſſively to liberty, you will fulfil a duty: you will prepare for yourſelves the moſt comfortable reflections: you will do honour to humanity, and inſure the proſperity of the colonies. Such will be your conduct towards your brethren, the negroes; but what ought it to be towards your fathers, the whites? Doubtleſs you will be permitted to ſhed tears over the aſhes of *Ferrand de Baudiere*, and the unfortunate *Ogé*, aſſaſſinated under the forms of law, and dying on the wheel for having wiſhed to be free! But may he among you periſh, who ſhall dare to entertain an idea of revenge againſt your perſecutors! They are already delivered over to the ſtings of their own conſciences, and covered with eternal infamy. The abhorrence in which they are held by the preſent race of mankind, only precedes the execration of poſterity. Bury then in eternal oblivion every ſentiment of hatred, and taſte the delicious pleaſure of conferring benefits on your oppreſſors. Repreſs even too marked expreſſions of your joy, which, in cauſing them to reflect on their own injuſtice towards you, will make their remorſe ſtill more pungent.

Strictly obedient to the laws, teach your children to reſpect them. By a careful education, inſtruct them in all the duties of morality; ſo ſhall you prepare for the ſucceeding generation virtuous citizens, honourable men, enlightened patriots, and defenders of their country!

How will their hearts be affected when, conducting them to your ſhores, you direct their looks towards France, telling them, "beyond thoſe ſeas is your parent country; it is from thence we have

"received

" received juſtice, protection, happineſs, and liberty. There dwell our CHAP.
" fellow citizens, our brethren, and our friends: to them we have VII.
" ſworn an eternal friendſhip. Heirs of our ſentiments, and of our
" affections, may your hearts and your lips repeat our oaths! Live to
" love them; and, if neceſſary, die to defend them!"

Signed,

GREGOIRE.

Paris, 8th June, 1791.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Reception and Proceedings of the Civil Commiſſioners, and their Return to France—National Decree of the 4th of April 1792—Appointment of a new Governor (Monſ. Deſparbes) and three other Commiſſioners (Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud)—Their Embarkation and Arrival, with a ſelect Body of Troops—Their violent Proceedings—Appointment, by the Executive Council, of M. Galbaud as Chief Governor, in the Room of Deſparbes—His Arrival, and Diſputes with the Commiſſioners—Both Parties proceed to Hoſtilities—The revolted Negroes called in to the Aſſiſtance of the Commiſſioners—A general Maſſacre of the White Inhabitants, and Conflagration of the Town of Cape François.

CHAP. VIII. January 1792.

THE civil commiſſioners who were to reſtore peace and ſubordination in St. Domingo, and whoſe arrival there was noticed in the laſt Chapter, were named Mirbeck, Roome, and St. Leger. Mirbeck and Roome had formerly been known as advocates in the parliaments of Paris; and St. Leger, who was a native of Ireland, had practiſed many years in France as a ſurgeon. Although the confuſion of the times had elevated theſe men to power, not one of them was diſtinguiſhed for extraordinary abilities, and their rank in life was not ſuch as to command any great degree of conſideration from the planters.

They

They were received however, from reſpect to their appointment, with politeneſs and ſubmiſſion, both by the governor and the inhabitants. Military honours were ſhewn them, and they were led in publick proceſſion to the cathedral, where the bleſſing of the Almighty was devoutly implored for ſucceſs to their miſſion.

THEIR firſt proceeding, after announcing the new conſtitution and form of government for the mother country, as confirmed by the king, was to publiſh the decree of the 24th of September 1791, by which the fatal decree of the 15th of May was annulled. So far all was well: but a few days afterwards they took upon them to proclaim a general amneſty and pardon to ſuch people, of all deſcriptions, as ſhould lay down their arms, and come in, within a certain preſcribed time, and take the oaths required by the new conſtitution. This meaſure loſt them the confidence of all the white inhabitants: a general amneſty to the men of colour and revolted ſlaves, was conſidered as a juſtification of the moſt horrible enormities, and as holding out a dangerous example to ſuch of the negroes as preſerved their fidelity; and it loſt its effect on the mulattoes, by being accompanied with a repeal of their favourite decree. With what contempt and indignity it was received by the latter, the following circumſtance will demonſtrate. At *Petit Goave*, the mulattoes were maſters, and held in cloſe confinement thirty-four white perſons whom they reſerved for vengeance. On the publication of this amneſty, they led them to execution: but inſtead of putting them to immediate death, they cauſed each of them to be broken alive; and in the midſt of their tortures,

CHAP. VIII.

tures, read to them, in a ſtrain of diabolical mockery, the proclamation aloud; affecting to conſider it as a pardon for the cruelties they had juſt committed.

THE unlimited and indefinite authority which the commiſſioners ſeemed to claim, alarmed the colonial aſſembly, who deſired to be informed of the nature and extent of their powers. To this requeſt no ſatisfactory anſwer being given, the commiſſioners loſt ground in the publick opinion daily; and their perſonal conduct, as individuals, contributed by no means to acquire them reſpect. Mirbeck ſpent the greateſt part of his time in the practice of low debauchery, giving indulgence to his vicious propenſities without reſtraint or decency. St. Leger conſidered his appointment as an authority to exact money, in which he was little ſcrupulous, and laid the few mulatto people who remained faithful, under a moſt unmerciful contribution. Roome alone conducted himſelf without reproach: he was a well-meaning inoffenſive man, and attempted, though without effect, to act the part of mediator between the different factions which deſolated the country. This praiſe at leaſt was given him—*that if he did no good, he did no harm.*

AFTER a ſhort ſtay at Cape François, the commiſſioners viſited other parts of the colony; but finding themſelves every where very lightly regarded, and having no troops to ſupport their authority, they returned ſeparately to France in the months of March and April.

TROOPS

CHAP. VIII.

TROOPS however, as I have obſerved, had arrived from France to the number in the whole of about four thouſand; but, in the ſpirit of the times, they manifeſted very little obedience either to the civil commiſſioners, or to the governor of the colony; yet they ſerved as a check to the revolters, who would otherwiſe, in all probability, before this time, have become maſters both of Cape François and Port au Prince. In the Northern province, the rebel negroes indeed were ſuppoſed to be conſiderably reduced by diſeaſe and famine. Having deſtroyed all the proviſion grounds, and devoured the cattle of all kinds on the plain of the Cape, they had now taken poſſeſſion of the ſurrounding mountainous diſtricts, and were compelled by their chief leader, *Jean François*, a negro of great ſagacity, to plant proviſions for their future ſubſiſtence; a meaſure which has kept the flames of rebellion alive to the preſent hour.

IN the mean time, the ſtate of publick affairs in the mother country was tending to a great and ominous change. Ever ſince the flight and ſeizure of their unhappy king, in the month of June 1791, the faction was hourly increaſing in numbers which was ſoon to lay the kingdom in ruins, and bring the monarch himſelf to the ſcaffold. The Jacobin party, headed by a blood-thirſty triumvirate *(a)*, were becoming all-powerful; and the ſociety of *Amis des Noirs* had once more acquired a fatal aſcendency in the legiſlative body. On the 29th of February, one of 1792.
them, named *Garan de Coulon*, after a long and inflammatory harangue againſt the planters in general, propoſed the form of a

(a) Danton, Robeſpierre and Marat.

CHAP. VIII.

decree for abrogating that of the 24th of September, declaring a general amneſty throughout all the French colonies; and enacting, that new colonial aſſemblies ſhould be formed, which ſhould tranſmit their ſentiments not only on the ſubject of the internal government of the colonies, *but alſo on the beſt method of effecting the abolition of negro ſlavery* IN TOTO.

FRANTICK as the new legiſlature *(b)* had ſhewn itſelf on many occaſions ſince its firſt meeting, a majority could not at this time be found to vote for ſo ſenſeleſs and extravagant a propoſition; but in about two months afterwards, this aſſembly paſſed the famous decree of the 4th of April 1792, of which it is neceſſary the reader ſhould be furniſhed with a copy at large; and it is conceived in the words following:

"THE national aſſembly acknowledges and declares, that the people of colour and free negroes in the colonies ought to enjoy an equality of political rights with the whites; in conſequence of which it decrees as follows:

ARTICLE 1ſt. Immediately after the publication of the preſent decree, the inhabitants of each of the French colonies in the Windward and Leeward Iſlands ſhall proceed to the re-election of colonial and parochial aſſemblies, after the mode preſcribed by the decree of the 8th of March 1790, and the inſtructions of the national aſſembly of the 28th of the ſame month.

2d. THE people of colour and free negroes ſhall be admitted to vote in all the primary and electoral aſſemblies, and ſhall be

(b) The former aſſembly is generally known by the name of the *Conſtituent* Aſſembly. The new one met the 1ſt of October 1791, and called itſelf the Firſt *Legiſlative* Aſſembly.

eligible

eligible to the legiſlature and all places of truſt, provided they poſſeſs the qualifications preſcribed by the 4th article of the aforeſaid inſtructions.

3d. THREE civil commiſſioners ſhall be named for the colony of St. Domingo, and four for the iſlands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and Tobago, to ſee this decree enforced.

4th. THE ſaid commiſſioners ſhall be authorized to diſſolve the preſent colonial aſſemblies; to take every meaſure neceſſary for accelerating the convocation of the primary and electoral aſſemblies, and therein to eſtabliſh union, order, and peace: as well as to determine proviſionally (reſerving the power of appeal to the national aſſembly) upon every queſtion which may ariſe concerning the regularity of convocations, the holding of aſſemblies, the form of elections, and the eligibility of citizens.

5th. THEY are alſo authorized to procure every information poſſible, in order to diſcover the authors of the troubles in St. Domingo, and the continuance thereof, if they ſtill continue; to ſecure the perſons of the guilty, and to ſend them over to France, there to be put in a ſtate of accuſation, &c.

6th. THE ſaid civil commiſſioners ſhall be directed for this purpoſe to tranſmit to the national aſſembly minutes of their proceedings, and of the evidence they may have collected concerning the perſons accuſed as aforeſaid.

7th. THE national aſſembly authorizes the civil commiſſioners to call forth the publick force whenever they may think it neceſſary, either for their own protection, or for the execution of ſuch orders as they may iſſue by virtue of the preceding articles.

8th. THE executive power is directed to ſend a ſufficient force to the colonies, to be compoſed chiefly of national guards.

CHAP. VIII.

9th. THE colonial aſſemblies, immediately after their formation, ſhall ſignify, in the name of each colony reſpectively, their ſentiments reſpecting that conſtitution, thoſe laws, and the adminiſtration of them, which will beſt promote the proſperity and happineſs of the people; conforming themſelves nevertheleſs to thoſe general principles by which the colonies and mother country are connected together, and by which their reſpective intereſts are beſt ſecured, agreeably to the decree of the 8th of March 1790, and inſtructions of the 28th of the ſame month.

10th. THE colonial aſſemblies are authorized to ſend home delegates for the purpoſes mentioned in the preceding article, in numbers proportionate to the population of each colony, which proportion ſhall be forthwith determined by the national aſſembly, according to the report which its colonial committee is directed to make.

11th. FORMER decrees reſpecting the colonies ſhall be in force in every thing not contrary to the preſent decree."

IT may be ſuppoſed that the men who (rejecting all pretenſions to conſiſtency, and deſpiſing the leſſons of experience) firſt propoſed this decree, and finally prevailed in carrying it through the legiſlative aſſembly, had duly conſidered of the means for enſuring its execution in the colonies, and were provided with fit inſtruments for that purpoſe. The new commiſſioners nominated for St. Domingo were Meſſrs. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, all of them among the moſt violent of the Jacobin faction; and it was reſolved to furniſh them with ſuch a force as (if properly employed) would, it was alledged, not only eſtabliſh their authority, but put a ſpeedy end to all the diſturbances

bances which had ſo long afflicted and deſolated the colony. Eight thouſand men, ſelected with great circumſpection, from the national guards, with officers whoſe principles were well known to their employers, were accordingly ordered to embark forthwith for St. Domingo. M. Blanchelande, the governor-general, was recalled, and a new commiſſion of commander in chief given to a Monſ. Deſparbes. CHAP. VIII.

THUS appointed and provided, the civil commiſſioners and the new governor took their departure from France in the month of July, probably in much the ſame diſpoſition of mind towards the coloniſts, as was manifeſted by the Duke D'Alva and his Spaniſh and Italian troops in 1568, towards the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Inflamed like them with a ſpirit of avarice, fanaticiſm, and revenge, they meditated on nothing but on the benefits to ariſe from ſeizure and confiſcation; on ſchemes of miſchief and projects of vengeance. 1792.

THEY landed at Cape François on the 13th of September, and finding M. Blanchelande at great variance with the colonial aſſembly, the commiſſioners took the ſhorteſt courſe poſſible to terminate the diſpute, by forthwith diſſolving the aſſembly and ſending the unfortunate Blanchelande a ſtate priſoner to France, where, as to be accuſed was to be condemned, he ſoon afterwards periſhed by the guillotine *(c)*. 1792.

DISMAY and terror now prevailed throughout the colony. Delegates were ſent to the civil commiſſioners from all quarters, to

(c) 7th April, 1793.

demand

CHAP. VIII.

demand an expoſure and explanation of their views and intentions. Suſpicions were already gone forth concerning the project, which the commiſſioners afterwards avowed, of declaring a general emancipation of the negro ſlaves; and all parties, as well among the republicans as the royaliſts, concurred on this occaſion in reprobating the folly and iniquity of the meaſure. So general was the clamour on this account, that if a firm and extenſive coalition of intereſts among the planters could at this time have been effected, it is probable the commiſſioners might have found that all the force they had brought with them would have proved inufficient for the purpoſes which they meditated. Diſſimulation therefore was thought neceſſary for the preſent. They declared (and confirmed the declaration with the ſolemnity of an oath) that they had no wiſh or intention to make any change in the ſyſtem of colonial government concerning the ſlaves; avowing the fulleſt conviction that the emancipation of thoſe people, under exiſting circumſtances, was impracticable.—Their views, they ſaid, extended no farther than to ſee the decree of the 4th of April, in favour of the free people of colour, properly enforced; to reduce the ſlaves in rebellion to obedience, and to ſettle the future government and tranquillity of the colony on a ſolid and permanent foundation.

THESE, and ſimilar, declarations ſilenced, though they did not ſatisfy, the white inhabitants; who ſoon perceived, with unavailing indignation, that the commiſſioners held ſecret communications with the chiefs of the mulattoes in all parts of the colony. By the co-operation of thoſe people, the commiſſioners ſoon found their ſtrength ſufficient to avow themſelves openly the

the patrons and protectors of the whole body of the free negroes and mulattoes: and they now made no ſcruple of ſeizing the perſons and effects of all ſuch of the whites as oppoſed their projects, ſending great numbers of them in a ſtate of arreſt to Europe, to anſwer before the national aſſembly to the accuſations which they pretended to tranſmit againſt them. Among the perſons thus impriſoned and tranſported to France, were comprehended the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and many other officers of the Cape regiment. CHAP. VIII.

THE white inhabitants now called aloud for the election of a new colonial aſſembly, and hoped that the neceſſity of levying taxes would induce the commiſſioners to iſſue orders for that purpoſe; but inſtead of complying with the publick requeſt, they ſubſtituted what was called *une commiſſion intermediaire*, by nominating twelve perſons, ſix of whom had been members of the laſt aſſembly, to act as a ſort of legiſlative council: the other ſix were mulattoes. To this motley board, the commiſſioners delegated authority to raiſe money from the inhabitants; reſerving to themſelves, however, the right of appropriating and expending it, as they alone ſhould think proper.

IN the meanwhile the new governor (Deſparbes) began to manifeſt ſome ſigns of diſſatisfaction and impatience. He complained that he was conſidered as a mere cypher in the government, or rather as an inſtrument in the commiſſioners' hands. His complaints were anſwered by the arreſt of his perſon, and he ſoon afterwards followed his predeceſſor, M. Blanchelande, ſtate priſoner to France.

CHAP. VIII.

FOUR members out of the ſix whites that compoſed a moiety of the *commiſſion intermediaire*, met with ſimilar treatment. They ventured to offer their opinion on a meaſure of finance, in oppoſition to that of M. Santhonax. The commiſſioners commended their frankneſs, and M. Santhonax invited them to a ſupper. The invitation was accepted; but at the hour appointed, they found themſelves ſurrounded by a detachment of the military, which conveyed them to very ſorry entertainment in the hold of a ſhip, and there left them as ſtate priſoners *(d)*.

THE commiſſioners, in the next place, fell out among themſelves; and Santhonax and Polverel determined to get quit of their aſſociate Ailhaud. Prudently judging, however, that the publick degradation of one of their own body would reflect ſome degree of ignominy on them all, they perſuaded him to be content with a proportion of the common plunder, and ſilently quit the country. Ailhaud ſubmitted with a good grace to what he could not avoid.

BY theſe, and other means, above all by the practice of beſtowing largeſſes on the troops, and the acquiſition of a deſperate band of auxiliaries, compoſed of ſome of the revolted ſlaves, and vagabonds of all colours and deſcriptions, moſtly collected from the jails, Santhonax and Polverel, in the beginning of the year

(d) To one of theſe gentlemen I am indebted for more valuable and extenſive information than I have been able to collect through any other channel. In his voyage to Europe, the ſhip in which he was confined was (fortunately for him) captured by an Engliſh frigate, which brought him to England, where I had the happineſs to render him ſome acceptable ſervice.

1793, found themſelves abſolute maſters of the colony. The lives and properties of all the white inhabitants lay at their mercy, and the dreadful ſcenes which were at that time paſſing in the mother country, enabled theſe men to proſecute their purpoſes, and gratify their vindictive and avaricious paſſions, without notice or controul from any ſuperior. CHAP. VIII.

But the tragedy which was acting in France, was no ſooner brought to its cataſtrophe, by the foul murder of their amiable and unoffending ſovereign, and war declared againſt Great Britain and Holland, than the perſons who compoſed what was called the executive council, thought it neceſſary to pay ſome little attention to the ſafety of St. Domingo. Not having however leiſure or inclination to enter into a full inveſtigation of the complaints received from thence, they declined to revoke the powers exerciſed by the civil commiſſioners, and contented themſelves with appointing a new governor, in the room of M. Deſparbes. Their choice fell on a Monſ. Galbaud, an officer of artillery, and a man of fair character, whom they directed to embark for his new government without delay, in one of the national frigates, and put the colony into the beſt ſtate of defence againſt a foreign enemy.

Galbaud, with his ſuite of attendants, landed at Cape François on the 7th of May, to the great joy of the white inhabitants. At that period, the civil commiſſioners, with moſt of their troops, were in the Weſtern province, endeavouring to quell an inſurrection there which their tyranny had created; ſo that Galbaud was received with acclamations and ſubmiſſion by the municipality of the town of the Cape; to whoſe place of meeting 1793.

CHAP. VIII.

ing he repaired with his attendants, took the neceſſary oaths, and entered on his government without oppoſition. He declared, at the ſame time, that he was not dependent on the civil commiſſioners, and not bound to execute, at all events, their proclamations.

A VERY quick interchange of letters took place between the new governor and the commiſſioners. He deſired them to repair immediately to the Cape, that he might communicate the inſtructions he had received from the executive council. They anſwered that he was an entire ſtranger to them; that they had ſeen no decree of the national convention by which they themſelves were ſuperſeded, and that being veſted with authority to ſuſpend or appoint a governor, as they alone might think proper, he could only be conſidered as an agent ſubordinate to themſelves:—They added, that they were then aſſembling an army to ſuppreſs a rebellion in the town and neighbourhood of Port au Prince; but that as ſoon as the buſineſs was at an end, they would repair to the Cape, and examine into the validity of his pretenſions.

1793. ON the 10th of June the civil commiſſioners, having reduced Port au Prince and Jacmel, arrived at the Cape. The ſtreets were lined with troops, and they were received by Galbaud with attention and reſpect. A very ſerious altercation however immediately took place between them, highly diſadvantageous to the governor. There exiſted, it ſeems, a decree of the national aſſembly, enacting that no proprietor of an eſtate in the Weſt Indies ſhould hold the government of a colony wherein his eſtate was ſituated; and M. Galbaud was poſſeſſed of a coffee-plantation in St. Domingo.

mingo. When therefore he was aſked why he had not acquainted the executive council with this circumſtance, he was utterly diſconcerted and had no reply to make.

On the 13th, the commiſſioners ordered M. Galbaud to embark forthwith on board the ſloop of war La Normande, and return to France. At the ſame time they ſent inſtructions to Monſ. de la Salle, whom they had left commandant at Port au Prince, to repair to the Cape and receive from them, in the name of the French republick, the command of the colony.

The ſeven following days were ſpent on both ſides in intrigues and preparations for hoſtilities. Galbaud's brother, a man of ſpirit and enterprize, had collected from among the inhabitants, the Cape militia, and the ſeamen in the harbour, a ſtrong party to ſupport the governor's authority. On the 20th, the two brothers landed at the head of one thouſand two hundred ſailors, and being joined by a conſiderable body of volunteers, immediately marched in array towards the government houſe, in which the commiſſioners were ſtationed. The latter were defended by the people of colour, a body of regulars, and one piece of cannon. The conflict was fierce and bloody. The volunteers manifeſted great firmneſs, but the ſeamen getting poſſeſſion of a wine cellar, ſoon became intoxicated and ungovernable; and the column was obliged to retire to the royal arſenal, where they remained the enſuing night unmoleſted.

The next morning many ſkirmiſhes took place in the ſtreets, with various ſucceſs, in one of which Galbaud's brother was taken priſoner by the commiſſioners' troops; and in another, the

CHAP. VIII.

ſeamen that were fighting on the part of Galbaud made captive Polverel's ſon; and now an extraordinary circumſtance occurred. The governor ſent a flag propoſing to exchange the commiſſioner's ſon for his brother; but Polverel rejected the propoſal with indignation; declaring in anſwer, that his ſon knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the ſervice of the republick.

But a ſcene now opens, which, if it does not obliterate, exceeds at leaſt, all that has hitherto been related of factious anarchy, and ſavage cruelty, in this unfortunate colony. On the firſt approach of Galbaud with ſo large a body of ſeamen, the commiſſioners diſpatched agents to call in to their aſſiſtance the revolted negroes; offering them an unconditional pardon for paſt offences, perfect freedom in future, and the plunder of the city. The rebel generals, *Jean François* and *Biaſſou*, rejected their offers; but on the 21ſt, about noon (juſt after that Galbaud and moſt of his adherents, finding their cauſe hopeleſs, had retired to the ſhips) a negro chief called *Macaya*, with upwards of three thouſand of the revolted ſlaves, entered the town, and began an univerſal and indiſcriminate ſlaughter of men, women, and children. The white inhabitants fled from all quarters to the ſea-ſide, in hopes of finding ſhelter with the governor on board the ſhips in the harbour; but a body of the mulattoes cut off their retreat, and a horrid butchery enſued, a deſcription of which every heart ſuſceptible of humanity muſt be unable to bear. Suffice it to ſay, that the ſlaughter continued with unremitting fury from the 21ſt, to the evening of the 23d; when the ſavages, having murdered all the white inhabitants that fell in their way, ſet fire to the buildings; and more than half the city was conſumed by

the flames. The commiſſioners themſelves, either terrified at beholding the lamentable and extenſive miſchief which they had occaſioned, or afraid to truſt their perſons with their rebel allies, ſought protection under cover of a ſhip of the line. The proclamations which they publiſhed from time to time in palliation of their conduct, manifeſt a conſciouſneſs of guilt which could not be ſuppreſſed, and form a record of their villanies, for which the day of retribution awaits, but ſtill lingers to overtake them *(f)*!

Such was the fate of the once flouriſhing and beautiful capital of St. Domingo!—a city which, for trade, opulence, and magnificence, was undoubtedly among the firſt in the Weſt Indies,—perhaps in the new world: and here I ſhall cloſe for the preſent, the diſguſting detail of conſpiracies, rebellions, crimes, cruelties, and conflagrations (a uniformity of horrors!) through which the nature of my work has compelled me to travel;—rejoicing that I have at laſt

> Eſcap'd the Stygian pool, tho' long detain'd
> In that obſcure ſojourn;——
>
> Milton.

And have the pleaſing taſk to perform of rendering due homage to the gallant and enterprizing ſpirit of my countrymen in their noble—but alas! hitherto unavailing—endeavours to reſtore peace, ſubordination, and good government on this theatre of anarchy and bloodſhed. Previous to which, however, it will be a relief and

(f) When this was written, the author did not know that Santhonax alone ſurvives. Polverel died in 1794, in ſome part of St. Domingo. Santhonax has lately appeared before the national aſſembly, and been pronounced *guiltleſs!*

ſatisfaction

CHAP. VIII.

ſatisfaction to the reader to be preſented with a picture or ſtate of the colony, as it exiſted in the days of its proſperity;—its culture, population, and produce;—its growing importance and commercial value. Hitherto, we have contemplated nothing but ſcenes of deſolation.—We ſhall now behold a pleaſing contraſt in the bleſſings of regular government: due ſubordination, ſocial order, extenſive commerce, peaceful induſtry, increaſing cultivation, ſmiling plenty, and general happineſs! The concluſions to be drawn from the contemplation of ſcenes ſo different in their nature are of importance to all mankind.

The Account given above of the Deſtruction of the City of Cape François, was drawn up with as much Caution as the Caſe ſeemed to require, from Information tranſmitted to the Author by Perſons in Jamaica and St. Domingo, ſome of whom differed in many eſſential Circumſtances from others. He had afterwards an Opportunity of converſing perſonally on the Subject with a Gentleman of St. Domingo, on whoſe Veracity and Honour he could place the fulleſt Dependance, by whom he was favoured with the following Notes or Memoranda *in Writing, which he thinks beſt to lay before his Readers* verbatim.

NOTES SUR L'EVÈNEMENT DU CAP.

LE General Galbaud avoit mandé au Cap les commiſſaires Santhonax et Polverel, de la maniere la plus imperieuſe; les commiſſaires ſe ſont déterminés a s'y rendre par terre de S. Marc, d'où ils

ſont

CHAP. VIII.

ſont partis le 8 Juin, accompagnés de 400 mulâtres et 200 blancs, et compris leurs coupe tête les dragons d'Orleans. Ils ont fait leur entrée au Cap d'une maniere aſſéz audacieuſe pour en impoſer.

Galbaud avait deja indiſpoſé les habitans du Cap par une addreſſe, ou proclamation, qui ordonnait une contribution de 450 mille livres, dont la perception a été faite de la façon la plus violente, et qui tenait plus du pillage que d'une contribution.

Le General Galbaud n'avait fait aucune diſpoſitions pour ſe preſerver des reſolutions et des entrepriſes des commiſſaires, qui entrerent cependant d'une maniere menaçante.

A la premiere entrevüe des General Galbaud et des commiſſaires, en la maiſon de la commiſſion (le gouvernement) apres les premiers compliments, il y eut explication ſur les pouvoirs du general; les commiſſaires lui opoſerent un decret qui deffendait qu'aucun proprietaire dans la colonie pût y commander ni y avoir d'autorité; et accuſerent M. Galbaud d'avoir diſſimulé au conſeil executif qu'il avait des proprietés.

Pendant ce demêlé, qui dura près de deux jours, les agents des commiſſaires préparaient les eſprits a les laiſſer faire, et a ne point ſe mêler de la diſcution, dans laquelle Santhonax prenait cependant une grande preponderance.

Galbaud, voyant que perſonne ne s'empreſſait a le ſoutenir, et prevoyant ſans doute une chute humiliante, demanda aux commiſſaires de s'en retourner en France, préférant la retraite, a des pouvoirs conteſtés; ce qui lui fut accordé ſur le champ, et il s'embarqua le 14.

Le 17 Galbaud réünit tous les matelots de la rade et ceux des vaiſſeaux de guerre, et projette de deſcendre a la ville du Cap; il fait ſon débarquement le 18, et marche au gouvernement, où logeaient les commiſſaires, qui inſtruits des mouvemens de Galbaud, réünirent les troupes qui leurs etaient devouées, et particulierement les mulâtres, et les embuſquerent derriere les murs du gouvernement, dans toutes les iſsües, ſur

CHAP. VIII.

ſur les terraſſes, &c. Auſſitôt que les matelots furent a portée de piſtolet, on fit des décharges, qui en tuerent et bleſſerent un grand nombre, néanmoins les mulâtres furent ebranlés deux fois; mais le déſordre dans les matelots determina le General Galbaud a faire ſa retraite a l'arſenal; là, il fit une proclamation pour inviter les bons citoyens a ſe réünir a lui, pour chaſſer les commiſſaires, qui voulaient uſurper le gouvernement. Dès-lors les commiſſaires réünirent aux mulâtres tous les négres de la ville, qui avaient deja pris parti dans l'action en aſſaſſinant dans la ville; toutes les troupes qui leurs avaient ſervis a leur expedition, et les placerent par pelotons a chaque coin des rües, et dès qu'un blanc voulait ſortir de chéz lui, ou paraiſſait aux fenetres, il etait fuſillé.

Pendant ce tems, et dès que les commiſſaires eurent appris les mouvemens de Galbaud, ils avaient depeché des exprès aux chefs des brigands, pour les engager a venir a leur ſecours, et leurs offraient le pillage de la ville.

Le 19 Galbaud capitule à l'arſenal, et ſe rend abord: il y en mis en etat d'arreſtation, ainſi que l'Amiral Cambis, et le Contre-Amiral Sercey, qui ſont dépouillés de leur commandement.

Une proclamation des commiſſaires avait precedamment a cet' évenement, mis a contribution 37 negociants, ou riches particuliers, pour une ſomme de 675 mille livres, qui parrait avoir été exigée et payée ſur l'heure. Le 19, au ſoir, le 20, le 21, les brigands entrent de toutes parts dans la ville du Cap, ayant a leur tête leurs chefs, et on aſſure que M. de Graſſe s'y eſt trouvé auſſi. Le pillage, les maſſacrês, les flammes deviennent effroyables; les hommes, les femmes, les enfans ſont aſſaſſinés, maſſacrés, et éprouvent toutes les horreurs imaginables. Ils ont eu la barbarie de renfermer et de brûler dans une maiſon plus de 300 perſonnes toutes vives.

Les malheureux de tout ſexe, de tout âge, qui cherchaient a ſe ſauver en gagnant des embarcations, ou a la nage, etaient fuſillés même dans l'eau.

CHAP. VIII.

Il parrait que dans le maſſacre les négres ont frapés indiſtinctement tous les partis, blancs, mulâtres, et que les blancs ſe ſont deffendus contre tous avec un grand acharnement; néanmoins il parrait certain, que la population blanche a été entierement détruite, et qu'il n'a pas reſté un ſeul blanc au Cap; on eſtime que, s'il s'eſt ſauvé 12 a 1500 perſonnes abord, c'eſt plus qu'on n'oſe l'eſperer.

Le convoi eſt ſortie du Cap le 23 pour l'Amerique, la majeure partie ayant très peu de vivres, très peu d'eau, et pluſieurs ſans être préparés a ce voyage, ſans mats ni voilles, & ceux qui ont reçu les malheureux qui ſe ſont ſauvés abord, n'y auront trouvé aucune ſubſiſtance.

La ville incendiée, détruite, ſes habitans maſſacres, on aſſuré qu'il ne reſte que le gouvernement, une partie des caſernes, l'arſenal, et les maiſons du Petit Carenage;—l'égliſe et les fontaines detruites.

Les commiſſaires ont reſté ſpectateurs tranquilles pendant le carnage et le maſſacre; dans leur maiſon on a vu Santhonax ſerrer et preſſer dans ſes bras les chefs des brigands, les appeller ſes ſauveurs, et leur témoigner leur reconnaiſſance.

Le 23 proclamation des commiſſaires, qui invite et appelle tous les bons citoyens à ſe réünir autour d'eux, et de laiſſer partir les ſcélerats, qui vont aller ſubir le juſte chatiment de leurs crimes, le convoi en parti le jour même, & la ville fumait encore.

CHAP. IX.

Situation, Extent, and general Deſcription of St. Domingo—Origin of the French Colony, and Topographical Deſcription of the ſeveral Provinces into which the French Poſſeſſions were divided—Their Population, and Produce—Shipping and Exports—Compared with the Returns of Jamaica.

CHAP. IX.

THE iſland of St. Domingo is ſituated in the Atlantick Ocean, about three thouſand five hundred miles from the land's end of England; the eaſtern point lying in north latitude 18° 20′, and in longitude 68° 40′ W. from Greenwich. The iſland extends about one hundred and forty miles in the broadeſt part, from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ninety from eaſt to weſt. In a country of ſuch magnitude, diverſified with plains of vaſt extent, and mountains of prodigious height, is probably to be found every ſpecies of ſoil which nature has aſſigned to all the tropical parts of the earth. In general, it is fertile in the higheſt degree; every where well watered, and producing almoſt every variety of vegetable nature, for uſe and beauty, for food and luxury, which the laviſh hand of a bountiful Providence has beſtowed on the richeſt portion of the globe. In that part which conſtituted the French territory, the quantity of unproductive land bears no manner of proportion to the whole;

CHAP. IX.

whole; and the liberality of nature was laudably ſeconded by the induſtry of the inhabitants. Until thoſe ravages and devaſtations which I have had the painful taſk of recording, deformed and deſtroyed, with undiſtinguiſhing barbarity, both the bounties of nature, and the labours of art, the poſſeſſions of France in this noble iſland were conſidered as the garden of the Weſt Indies; and for beautiful ſcenery, richneſs of ſoil, ſalubrity and variety of climate, might juſtly be deemed *the Paradiſe of the New World.*

Of the territories which remained excluſively in poſſeſſion of the original conquerors, the Spaniards, my information is very imperfect. I ſhall hereafter give the beſt account I have been able to collect concerning them. On the ſouthern coaſt, more eſpecially in the neighbourhood of the ancient city from which the iſland derives its preſent name, the lands are ſaid to be among the beſt, and without doubt a very large proportion of the remainder requires only the hand of the cultivator to become very productive. The interior country contains extenſive ſavannahs, or plains, many of them occupied only by wild ſwine, horſes, and horned cattle; for the Spaniards having exterminated the ſimple and unoffending natives, ſupplied their place with herds of domeſtick animals, which running wild, ſoon multiplied beyond computation. Thus does the tyranny of man convert the fruitful habitations of his fellow-creatures into a wilderneſs for beaſts! In the preſent caſe, however, the crime ſoon brought down its own puniſhment;—a puniſhment which almoſt revenged the wrongs of the helpleſs Americans;—and who does

CHAP. IX.

not wiſh that avarice, ambition, and cruelty may be thus always entangled in their own projects?

The reader is doubtleſs apprized that I here allude to the eſtabliſhment in St. Domingo of that daring and deſperate band of adventurers, the *Bucaniers*;—an aſſociation conſtituted of men of all countries and deſcriptions, but of whom it may truly be ſaid that, if ſelf-preſervation be a law of nature, the hoſtilities which they maintained for upwards of fifty years againſt their oppreſſors, were more juſtifiable and legitimate in their origin, than all the wars which the pride and ambition of kingdoms and nations have occaſioned, from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour. As the cruelty of the Spaniards firſt compelled theſe men, from a ſenſe of common danger, to unite their ſtrength, ſo the blind policy of ſtocking with cattle a country of ſuch extent, became their ſupport; for the fleſh of thoſe animals ſupplied them with food, and they purchaſed arms, ammunition, and clothing with the ſkins.

Of the riſe of theſe people, and the primary cauſe of their combining together to make repriſals on the Spaniſh ſettlements, a ſhort account may be neceſſary. I have elſewhere treated the ſubject more at large *(a)*.—They conſiſted originally of a body of French and Engliſh planters, whom, in the year 1629, a Spaniſh armament had expelled from the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity. Driven from thence, by a force which they could not reſiſt, as the only alternative of

(a) Hiſt. of the Britiſh Colonies, Book ii. C. 2.

eſcaping

CHAP. IX.

eſcaping from ſlaughter or ſlavery, they fled in open boats with their families, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſmall unoccupied iſland of *Tortuga*, ſituated within a few miles of the northern coaſt of St. Domingo. Here they were joined by a conſiderable number of Dutch emigrants from *Santa Cruz*, whom the avarice and cruelty of the Spaniards had compelled, in like manner, to roam over the ocean for ſhelter, after having witneſſed the maſſacre of many of their number, even to the women and children. Companions in adverſity, their misfortunes probably taught theſe poor exiles mutual forbearance; for, although they were compoſed of three different nations, they appear to have lived for ſome years in perfect harmony with each other. Their mode of life contributed to produce the ſame beneficial effect: finding a country of immeaſurable extent in their neighbourhood abounding in cattle, their time was chiefly occupied in hunting; an employment which left no leiſure for diſſenſion, and afforded them both exerciſe and food. The plains of St. Domingo were conſidered, however, merely as their hunting grounds: Tortuga continued their home, and place of retreat. Here their women and young people cultivated ſmall plantations of tobacco (an herb, of which, in hot and moiſt climates, the practice of inhaling the ſmoke, ſeems to be pointed out by nature); and as the coaſt was rugged, and of difficult approach, they fondly hoped that their obſcurity would protect them from further perſecution.

If the government of Spain had been actuated at this time by motives of wiſdom, it would indeed have left theſe poor people to range over the wilderneſs unmoleſted. It ought to have known, that the occupation of hunting diverted them from pro-

CHAP. IX.

jects of vengeance, and deeds of greater enterprize; but tyranny is without foresight, and the restless and remorseless bigotry of the Spanish nation allowed the fugitives no respite. An armament was collected, and preparations made to effect their utter extermination; the commanders of which, taking occasion when the ablest of the men had resorted to the larger island in their usual pursuit, landed a body of soldiers at Tortuga, and making captives of the women and children, the old and infirm, caused them all to be massacred without mercy.

It does not appear that the miserable people who were thus pursued to destruction, like beasts of prey, had hitherto been guilty of any outrages or depredations on the ships or subjects of Spain, which called for such exemplary vengeance. Neither was it imputed to them as a crime that they had possessed themselves of Tortuga, or that they roamed about the deserts of St. Domingo in pursuit of cattle which had no owners. Their guilt consisted in the circumstance of being born out of the Spanish territories, and presuming nevertheless to venture into any part of the New World; for the arrogant presumption and extravagant selfishness of this bigotted nation, led them to appropriate all the countries of America to themselves. They claimed even the sole and exclusive right of sailing on any such part of the main ocean as, in their judgment, constituted a portion of the newly-discovered hemisphere; and strict orders were issued to all their commanders, by sea and land, to seize on the ships and subjects of all other people that should be found within the boundaries which they had prescribed, and to punish the intruders with

ſlavery or death.—We have ſeen in what manner thoſe orders were executed. CHAP. IX.

It is evident, therefore, that no alternative remained to the occupiers of Tortuga, but to turn on their purſuers, and wage offenſive war on thoſe who would allow of no peace with them. If the juſtice of their cauſe be ſtill a queſtion, let the records of time be conſulted; let an appeal be made to that rule of conduct, which (to uſe an eloquent expreſſion of Lord Coke) *is written by the finger of God on the heart of man*; and let hiſtory and reaſon determine, whether any inſtance of hoſtility, in the annals of mankind, can be defended on better grounds. To ſuch men, in ſuch a cauſe, no dangers were too formidable, no obſtacles too great. Inured by their mode of life to the viciſſitudes of the climate, united among themſelves, and animated by all the motives and paſſions which can inflame the human mind to great exertion, they became the moſt formidable antagoniſts which the Spaniards had ever encountered, and diſplayed ſuch deeds of valour and ſucceſsful enterprize, as (all circumſtances conſidered) have never been equalled before or ſince.

From a party of theſe adventurers (chiefly natives of Normandy) the French colony in St. Domingo derived its origin. By what means they were induced to ſeparate from their aſſociates in danger, to relinquiſh the gratification of revenge and avarice, and exchange the tumults of war for the temperate occupations of huſbandry, it is neither within my province nor ability to explain. Many of them, without doubt, were men who had been driven from Europe by indigent circumſtances and deſperate fortunes;

CHAP. IX.

tunes; ſome by the cruelty of creditors; and others, perhaps, by the conſciouſneſs of their crimes. Captivated by the renown, and allured by the wealth of the Bucaniers, they joined in their expeditions againſt the Spaniards from no better motives than thoſe of plunder and rapine; and to ſuch men muſt be imputed thoſe outrages and exceſſes which have ſtamped the proceedings of the whole aſſociation with infamy *(b)*. But there is a time

(b) I conceive, however, that theſe have been wonderfully magnified and exaggerated. The narrative called *The Hiſtory of the Bucaniers*, publiſhed towards the latter end of the laſt century, which has been quoted by writers of all deſcriptions ever ſince, as of unqueſtionable authority, was originally written in Dutch, by one John Eſquemeling, who confeſſes that he had been one of the Bucaniers, and was expelled from their ſociety. The reports of ſuch a writer ought to have been received with great caution; but there is a ſtill ſtronger circumſtance to excite ſuſpicion; and it is this: The Engliſh work is not taken from the Dutch original, but from *a Spaniſh tranſlation*; and to ſuppoſe that a Spaniard would ſpeak favourably of the Bucaniers, is the very exceſs of human credulity. Not having the original book to refer to, I cannot pronounce with certainty; but I am of opinion, that many of the tragical ſtories concerning the torture of the Spaniſh priſoners, and the violation of the women, are interpolations of the Spaniſh tranſlator. I form this concluſion from the malignity diſplayed towards the character of the famous Sir Henry Morgan. If we may believe the account given of this gallant commander, he was the moſt inhuman monſter that ever exiſted. Yet this very man (who by the way acted under a regular commiſſion and letters of reprizal from government) after he had quitted the ſea, was recommended by the earl of Carliſle to be his ſucceſſor in the government of Jamaica, and was accordingly appointed lieutenant-governor in the earl's abſence. He afterwards received the honour of knighthood from King Charles II. and paſſed the remainder of his life on his plantation in Jamaica. By the kindneſs of a friend in that iſland, I have had an opportunity of peruſing ſome of Sir Henry Morgan's original private letters; and this I will ſay, that they manifeſt ſuch a ſpirit of humanity, juſtice, liberality, and piety, as prove that he has either been groſsly traduced, or that he was the greateſt hypocrite living; —a character ill-ſuited to the frank and fearleſs temper of the man.

for

for all things; and the change of life in these men confirms the observation of an elegant writer, "that as there is no soil "which will not shew itself grateful to culture, so there is no "disposition, no character in mankind, which may not, by "dexterous management, be turned to the publick advan-"tage *(c)*." It was a happy circumstance in the infancy of their establishment, that while they were too obscure for the notice of the government, they had no check given to their industry by the chill influence of poverty. To a fortunate exemption from the hand of power, and the facility with which they were supplied with the common necessaries of life, they were indebted for their preservation and prosperity. A mediocrity of condition, and equal freedom, excited the spirit of emulation among them; but oppression would have produced discouragement, and penury is the parent of sloth.

Of the progressive pursuits of these people in extending the footing which they had obtained, until the French government accepted their submission, acknowledged them as faithful subjects, and availed itself of their labours,—and the final cession to France of the western part of St. Domingo, by the peace of Ryswick, the reader will find an ample account in the history of this island by Pere Charlevoix. It is therefore unnecessary to detail what an author so well informed in the ancient transactions of the colony, has written. All that the English reader will expect from me, is an account of the political and topographical state of the colony; its population, produce, and exports at the

(c) European Settlements, Vol. II. p. 109.

CHAP. IX.

time my Hiſtory commences; and theſe particulars will be found in what remains of the preſent Chapter.

THE poſſeſſions of the French in St. Domingo, as I have elſewhere obſerved, were divided into three great departments, called the Northern, the Weſtern, and the Southern provinces. The Northern province comprehended a line of ſea-coaſt extending about forty leagues, from the river Maſſacre, to Cape St. Nicholas, and contained (including Tortuga) twenty-five pariſhes. Its population, in the beginning of 1790, conſiſted of 11,996 white inhabitants of all ages, and 164,656 negro ſlaves. The number of ſugar plantations was 288, of which 258 made what is called *clayed*, or ſoft white ſugar, and 30 *muſcovado*, or new ſugar. It reckoned 2,009 plantations of coffee, 66 of cotton, 443 of indigo, and 215 ſmaller eſtabliſhments, ſuch as proviſion-polinks, cacao-groves, tan-pits, potteries, brick-kilns, &c.

OF the towns and harbours in the Northern province, the chief were thoſe of Cape François, Fort Dauphin, Port Paix, and Cape St. Nicholas. I ſhall treat only of the firſt and the laſt.

THE town of Cape François (which in time of war was the ſeat of the French government) would have ranked among the cities of the ſecond claſs, in any part of Europe, for beauty and regularity. It conſiſted of between eight and nine hundred houſes of ſtone and brick, many of them handſome and commodious, beſides ſhops and warehouſes; and it contained two magnificent ſquares, ornamented each with

CHAP. IX.

a publick fountain. The chief publick buildings were the church; the Jeſuits' college (converted after the revolution into a government-houſe, and place of meeting for the colonial and provincial aſſemblies); a ſuperb barrack for troops; a royal arſenal; a priſon; a play-houſe; and two hoſpitals. The number of free inhabitants of all colours, was eſtimated at eight thouſand, excluſive of the king's troops and ſea-faring people. The domeſtick ſlaves were ſaid to be about twelve thouſand. The ſituation of the town, however, was not to be commended. It was built at the foot of a very high mountain, called *Le Haut du Cap*, which abounds indeed with ſprings of excellent water, and furniſhed a great ſupply of garden vegetables, but it ſerved as a ſcreen from the land wind, and reverberated the rays of the ſun. The town aroſe to opulence chiefly from the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, and the extreme fertility of the plain adjoining it to the eaſt, a diſtrict fifty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, appropriated ſolely to the cultivation of ſugar (the plantations of which were divided from each other only by hedges of citrons and limes) and yielding greater returns than perhaps any other ſpot of the ſame extent in the habitable globe.

The town of Cape St. Nicholas conſiſts of about 250 houſes, which are chiefly built of American wood. It is ſituated at the foot of a high bluff, called the *Mole*; but having been a free port, it was a place of conſiderable trade, and particularly reſorted to by the ſhips of America. It is chiefly known, however, for the ſafety and extent of its harbour, which is juſtly called the key of the Windward paſſage; and the fortifications

CHAP. IX.

towards the ſea are reckoned among the ſtrongeſt in the Weſt Indies. On the ſide of the land they are overlooked by the ſurrounding heights, and hence it is concluded, that although it might be difficult to take the place by an invading armament, it would be ſtill more difficult to retain it afterwards, unleſs poſſeſſion was obtained alſo of the interior country.

THE Weſtern province began at Cape St. Nicholas, and extending along the line of coaſt which forms the bight of Leogane, for upwards of one hundred leagues, terminated at Cape Tiburon. It contained fourteen pariſhes, and five chief towns, namely, Port au Prince, St. Marc, Leogane, Petit Goave, and Jeremie; beſides villages, of which thoſe of Gonaives, Arcahaye, and Croix des Bouquets, are not inconſiderable. The only good harbours in this great extent of coaſt are thoſe of Port au Prince and Gonaives. All the other ſhipping-places are open roads, ſometimes much expoſed.

PORT AU PRINCE (except in time of war, when the Governor General was directed to remove to Cape François) was conſidered as the metropolis of the colony. It was deſtroyed by a dreadful earthquake on the 3d of June 1770, and had never been completely rebuilt. In 1790 it conſiſted of about 600 houſes, and contained 2,754 white inhabitants *(d)*. The ſituation is low and marſhy, and the climate, in conſequence, very unhealthy. It is ſurrounded moreover by hills, which command

(d) The free people of colour were eſtimated at 4,000, and the enſlaved negroes at about 8,000: but being comprehended in the general return for the whole diſtrict, they are no where aſcertained with preciſion.

both

both the town and the harbour; but both the hills and the vallies are abundantly fertile. To the eaſt is ſituated the noble plain of Cul de Sac, extending from thirty to forty miles in length by nine in breadth, and it contained one hundred and fifty ſugar-plantations, moſt of which were capable of being watered in times of drought, by canals admirably contrived and diſpoſed for that purpoſe. The circumjacent mountains were at the ſame time clothed with plantations of coffee, which extended quite to the Spaniſh ſettlements.

The population and ſtate of agriculture in the Weſtern province were as follow: white inhabitants of all ages 12,798; negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery 192,961; plantations of clayed ſugar 135, of muſcovado 222. Plantations of coffee 894, of cotton 489, of indigo 1952, beſides 343 ſmaller ſettlements.

The Southern province, extending upwards of ſixty leagues from Cape Tiburon, along the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland to L'Ance a Pitre, contained ten pariſhes, and two chief towns, Aux Cayes and Jacmel; two places of which I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak. It poſſeſſes no ſafe harbours, and its roads are dangerous. The ſhipping that load at Aux Cayes take refuge during the hurricane ſeaſon at La Baye des Flamands.

The population in this department was compoſed of 6,037 whites, and 76,812 negro ſlaves. Its eſtabliſhments conſiſted of 38 plantations of white ſugar, and 110 of muſcovado; 214 coffee-plantations, 234 of cotton, 765 of indigo, and 119 ſmaller ſettlements.

The

CHAP. IX.

THE quantity of land in cultivation throughout all the pariſhes was 763,923 carreaux *(e)*, equal to 2,289,480 Engliſh acres, of which about two-thirds were ſituated in the mountains; and that the reader may have a ſtate of the agriculture at one view, I ſhall ſubjoin a ſummary of the preceding accounts, from whence it will appear that the French colony contained, the beginning of 1790,

	431	plantations of clayed ſugar,
	362	- - - of muſcovado.
Total -	793	plantations of ſugar,
	3,117	- - - of coffee,
	789	- - - of cotton,
	3,160	- - - of indigo,
	54	- - - of cacao, or chocolate,
	623	ſmaller ſettlements, chiefly for raiſing grain, yams, and other vegetable food.
Making -	8,536	eſtabliſhments of all kinds throughout the colony.

THE population in 1790, on a like ſummary, appears to have been 30,831 whites of both ſexes and all ages (excluſive

(e) The carreau of land in St. Domingo is 100 yards ſquare, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ French feet each; the ſuperficies 122,500 feet. The Paris foot is divided into twelve inches, and each inch into twelve lines; wherefore, if we ſuppoſe each line to be divided into 310 parts, the Paris foot will be 1440 parts, the London 1350. Theſe proportions were ſettled by the Royal Academy of Sciences. The Jamaica acre contains 43,560 Engliſh feet ſuperficial meaſure; which being multiplied by 1,350, and the total divided by 1,440, gives $40,837\frac{1}{2}$, or one-third part of the French carreau.

of

of European troops and ſea-faring people), and 434,429 negro ſlaves. In this account, however, the domeſtick ſlaves, and negro mechanicks employed in the ſeveral towns, are not comprehended. They amounted to about 46,000, which made the number of negro ſlaves throughout the colony 480,000.

Of the free people of colour, no very accurate account was obtained. Monſ. Marbois, the intendant, reported them in 1787 at about 20,000. In 1790, the general opinion fixed them at 24,000.

The exterior appearance of the colony, as I have obſerved in another place, every where demonſtrated great and increaſing proſperity. Cultivation was making rapid advances over the country. The towns abounded in warehouſes, which were filled with the richeſt commodities and productions of Europe, and the harbours were crouded with ſhipping. There were freighted, in 1787, 470 ſhips, containing 112,253 tons, and navigated by 11,220 ſeamen. Many of them were veſſels of very large burthen; and the following is an accurate account, from the intendant's reports, of the general exports, on an average of the years 1787, 1788, and 1789; viz.

CHAP. IX.

AVERAGE EXPORTS FROM THE FRENCH PART OF ST. DOMINGO, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

			Livres.
Clayed ſugar - -	lbs. 58,642,214 —	41,049,549
Muſcovado - -	lbs. 86,549,829 —	34,619,931
Coffee - - -	lbs. 71,663,187 —	71,663,187
Cotton - - -	lbs. 6,698,858 —	12,397,716
Indigo - - -	Hhds. 951,607 —	8,564,463
Molaſſes - - -	Hhds. 23,061 —	2,767,320
An inferior ſort of rum, called taffia - -	Hhds. 2,600 —	312,000
Raw hides - - -	N° 6,500 —	5,2000
Tanned ditto - - -	N° 7,900 —	118,500
The total value at the ports of ſhipping, in livres of St. Domingo, was - - -		171,544,666

being equal to £. 4,765,129 ſterling money of Great Britain.

If this ſtatement be compared by the rule of proportion with the exports from Jamaica, the reſult will be conſiderably in favour of St. Domingo, *i. e.* it will be found that the planters of Jamaica receive ſmaller returns from the labours of their negroes, in proportion to their numbers, than the planters of St. Domingo have received from theirs. For this difference various cauſes have been aſſigned, and advantages allowed, and qualities aſcribed to the French planters, which I venture to pronounce, on full enquiry, had no exiſtence. The true cauſe aroſe, undoubtedly, from the ſuperior fertility of the ſoil; and, above all, from the prodigious benefit which reſulted to the French planters from the ſyſtem

of watering their ſugar-lands in dry weather. This is an advantage which nature has denied to the lands in Jamaica, except in a very few places; but has freely beſtowed on many parts of St. Domingo; and the planters there availed themſelves of it with the happieſt ſucceſs *(f)*.

(f) Having made diligent enquiry into the average produce of the French ſugar-lands while on the ſpot, I venture to give the following eſtimate, as nearly founded in truth as the ſubject will admit.

In the North, the diſtricts of Ouanaminthe, Maribaroux, and Quartier Dauphin, generally yielded from ſix to ſeven thouſand pounds weight of muſcovado ſugar for each carreau in canes; the average is - - 6,500

Jaquizi - - - - - -	7,000	
Limonade - - - - - -	9,000	
Quartier Morin - - - - -	6,000	
Plaine du Nord, Limbé, Petite Anſe - -	5,000	
		33,500

The average of the whole is 6,700 lbs. each carreau.—This part of St. Domingo was not watered.

In the Weſt—St. Marc, L'Artibonite, and Gonaives, each carreau yielded - - - - - - - 8,500

Vazes, Arcahaye, Boucaſſin - - - -	10,000	
Cul de Sac - - - - - -	9,000	
Leogane - - - - - -	6,500	
		34,000

The average is 8,500 lbs. the carreau.—All theſe diſtricts were watered.

In the South—the diſtricts of Grand-Goave, Aux-Cayes, Plaine du Fond, L'Iſlet, &c. which likewiſe were watered, yielded - - - 7,500

The general average, on the whole, is 7,500 lbs. from each carreau in canes; to which add 8½ per cent. for the difference between the Engliſh and French weights, the total is 8,137 lbs. for every three acres Engliſh, or 2,712 lbs. per acre; being nearly two-thirds more than the general yielding of all the land in canes throughout Jamaica.

CHAP. IX.

And ſuch, in the days of its proſperity, was the French colony in the iſland of St. Domingo. I have now preſented to my readers both ſides of the medal. To Great Britain, above all other nations of the earth, the facts which I have related may furniſh an important leſſon; and it is ſuch a one as requires no comment!

CHAP. X.

Emigrations—Overtures to the Britiſh Government accepted—Situation and Strength of the Republican Party in St. Domingo, and Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants—Negro Slavery aboliſhed by the French Commiſſioners—Armament allotted for the Invaſion of the Country—Surrender of Jeremie and the Mole at Cape St. Nicholas—Unſucceſsful Attempt on Cape Tiburon—Further Proceedings of the Britiſh Army until the Arrival of General Whyte—Capture of Port au Prince.

CHAP. X.

THE deſtruction of the beautiful city of Cape François, and the maſſacre of moſt of the white inhabitants, were the ſad events which terminated our hiſtorical detail at the cloſe of the Eighth Chapter. It was obſerved, however, that M. Galbaud and his partizans, among whom were comprehended many reſpectable families, had fortunately embarked on the ſhips in the harbour, juſt before the revolted negroes entered the town. Happy to fly from a country devoted to ruin, they directed their courſe to the united ſtates of North America; and to the honour of the human character (debaſed as we have beheld it in other ſituations) they found there, what great numbers of their unhappy fellow-citizens had found before them, a refuge from the reach of perſecution, and an aſylum from the preſſure of poverty.

CHAP. X.

EMIGRATIONS from all parts of St. Domingo had indeed prevailed to a very great extent, ever ſince the revolt of the negroes in the Northern province. Many of the planters had removed with their families to the neighbouring iſlands: ſome of them had taken refuge in Jamaica; and it was ſuppoſed that not leſs than ten thouſand had tranſported themſelves, at various times, to different parts of the continent of America. Moſt of theſe were perſons of peaceable tempers, who ſought only to procure the mere neceſſaries of life in ſafety and quiet. The principal among the planters, having other objects in view, had repaired to Great Britain. It is a circumſtance within my own knowledge, that ſo early as the latter end of 1791 (long before the commencement of hoſtilities between France and England) many of them had made application to the King's miniſters, requeſting that an armament might be ſent to take poſſeſſion of the country for the king of Great Britain, and receive the allegiance of the inhabitants. They aſſerted (I am afraid with much greater confidence than truth) that all claſſes of the people wiſhed to place themſelves under the Engliſh dominion, and that, on the firſt appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron, the colony would ſurrender without a ſtruggle. To theſe repreſentations no attention was at that time given; but at length, after the national aſſembly had thought proper to declare war againſt Great Britain, the Engliſh miniſtry began to liſten, with ſome degree of complacency, to the overtures which were again made to them, to the ſame effect, by the planters of St. Domingo. In the ſummer of 1793, a M. Charmilly (one of thoſe planters) was furniſhed with diſpatches from the ſecretary of ſtate to General Williamſon, the lieutenant-governor and commander in

CHAP. X.

chief of Jamaica, ſignifying the king's pleaſure (with allowance of great latitude however to the governor's diſcretion) that he ſhould accept terms of capitulation from the inhabitants of ſuch parts of St. Domingo as ſolicited the protection of the Britiſh government; and for that purpoſe the governor was authorized to detach, from the troops under his command in Jamaica, ſuch a force as ſhould be thought ſufficient to take and retain poſſeſſion of all the places that might be ſurrendered, until reinforcements ſhould arrive from England. M. Charmilly, having thus delivered the orders and inſtructions with which he was entruſted, ſent an agent without delay to *Jeremie (a)*, a ſmall port and town in the diſtrict of *Grand Ance*, to which he belonged, to prepare the loyal inhabitants for a viſit from their new allies and protectors the Engliſh.

But, before we proceed to detail the operations which followed this determination of the Britiſh cabinet, it ſeems neceſſary, as well for the ſatisfaction of the reader, as in juſtice to the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and men who were afterwards ſent to St. Domingo, that ſome account ſhould be given of the difficulties which were to ariſe, and the force that was to be encountered in this attempt to annex ſo great and valuable a colony to the Britiſh dominion. I am well apprized that I am here treading on tender ground; but if it ſhall appear, as unhappily it will, that the perſons at whoſe inſtance and entreaty the project was adopted, either meant to deceive, or were themſelves groſsly deceived, in the repreſentations which they made to the Engliſh government on this occaſion, it is my province and my

(a) It is ſituated juſt within the Bight of *Leogane*.

CHAP. X.

duty to place the failure which has enſued to its proper account. The hiſtorian who, in ſuch caſes, from fear, favour, or affection, ſuppreſſes the communication of facts, is hardly leſs culpable than the factious or venal writer, who ſacrifices the intereſts of truth, and the dignity of hiſtory, to the prejudices of party.

THE republican commiſſioners, as the reader has been informed, had brought with them from France ſix thouſand choſen troops; which, added to the national force already in the colony, and the militia of the country, conſtituted a body of fourteen or fifteen thouſand effective whites; to whom were joined the greateſt part of the free negroes and mulattoes, beſides a motley but deſperate band of all complexions and deſcriptions, chiefly ſlaves which had deſerted from their owners, and negroes collected from the jails. All theſe, amounting in the whole to about twenty-five thouſand effectives, were brought into ſome degree of order and diſcipline; were well armed, and, what is of infinite importance, were, in a conſiderable degree, inured to the climate. Being neceſſarily diſperſed, however, in detachments throughout the different provinces, they were become on that account leſs formidable to an invading enemy. Aware of this circumſtance, the commiſſioners, on the firſt intimation of an attack from the Engliſh, reſorted to the moſt deſperate expedient to ſtrengthen their party, that imagination can conceive. They declared by proclamation all manner of ſlavery aboliſhed, and pronounced the negro ſlaves to be from thenceforward a free people, on condition of reſorting to their ſtandard. From this moment it might have been foreſeen that the colony was loſt to Europe; for though but few of the negroes, in proportion to the whole, joined the commiſſioners, many thouſands chooſing

to continue ſlaves as they were, and participate in the fortunes of their maſters, yet vaſt numbers in all parts of the colony (apprehenſive probably that this offer of liberty was too great a favour to be permanent) availed themſelves of it to ſecure a retreat to the mountains, and poſſeſs themſelves of the natural faſtneſſes which the interior country affords. Succeſſive bodies have ſince joined them, and it is believed that upwards of 100,000 have eſtabliſhed themſelves, in thoſe receſſes, into a ſort of ſavage republick, like that of the black Charaibes of St. Vincent, where they ſubſiſt on the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth, and the wild cattle which they procure by hunting; prudently declining offenſive war, and truſting their ſafety to the rocky fortreſſes which nature has raiſed around them, and from which, in my opinion, it will be no eaſy undertaking to diſlodge them *(b)*.

Of the revolted negroes in the Northern province, many had periſhed of diſeaſe and famine; but a deſperate band, amounting as it was ſuppoſed to upwards of 40,000, inured to war, and practiſed in devaſtation and murder, ſtill continued in arms. Theſe

(b) The proclamation alluded to, was iſſued at Port au Prince the latter end of Auguſt, and was ſigned by Polverel alone, Santhonax being at that time in the Northern province. It begins by declaring, that neither himſelf nor Santhonax are recalled or diſgraced. That, in order to encourage the negro ſlaves to aſſiſt in oppoſing the meditated invaſion of the Engliſh, all manner of ſlavery is aboliſhed; and the negroes are thenceforward to conſider themſelves as free citizens. It then expatiates upon the neceſſity of labour, and tells the negroes that they muſt engage to work as uſual, from year to year; but that they are at liberty to make choice of their reſpective maſters. That one third of the crop ſhall be appropriated annually to the purchaſe of clothing and proviſions for their maintenance; and that in the month

CHAP. X.

These were ready to pour down, as occasion might offer, on all nations alike; and, instead of joining the English on their landing, would rejoice to sacrifice both the victors and the vanquished, the invaders and invaded, in one common destruction.

Concerning the white proprietors, on whom alone our dependence was placed, a large proportion, as we have seen, perhaps more than one half of the whole, had quitted the country. Of those that remained, *some* there were, undoubtedly, who sincerely wished for the restoration of order, and the blessings of regular government; but the greatest part were persons of a different character: they were men who had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain, by confusion and anarchy: not a few of them had obtained possession of the effects and estates of absent proprietors. From people of this stamp, the most determined opposition was necessarily to be expected; and unfortunately, among those of better principle, I am afraid but a very small number were cordially attached to the English. The majority seem to have had nothing in view but to obtain by any means the restoration of their estates and possessions. Many of them, under their ancient government, had belonged to the

month of September in each year they are at liberty to make a new choice, or to confirm that of the preceding year. Such, to the best of my remembrance (for I speak from memory) are the chief provisions of this celebrated proclamation, which I think extended only to the Western and Southern provinces; Santhonax being empowered to make what other regulations he might think proper for the Northern province. The whole appears to have been a matchless piece of absurdity; betraying a lamentable degree of ignorance concerning the manners and dispositions of the negroes, and totally impracticable in itself.

lower

CHAP. X.

lower order of *nobleſſe*, and being tenacious of titles and honours, in proportion as their pretenſions to real diſtinction were diſputable; they dreaded the introduction of a ſyſtem of laws and government, which would reduce them to the general level of the community. Thus, as their motives were ſelfiſh, and their attachment feeble, their exertions in the common cauſe were not likely to be very ſtrenuous or efficacious. I do not find that the number of French in arms, who joined us at any one period (I mean of white inhabitants) ever exceeded two thouſand. It were unjuſt, however, not to obſerve, that among them were ſome diſtinguiſhed individuals, whoſe fidelity was above ſuſpicion, and whoſe ſervices were highly important. Such were the Baron de Montalembert, the Viſcount de Fontagnes, Monſ. Deſources, and perhaps a few others *(c)*.

FROM this recapitulation it is evident, that the invaſion of St. Domingo was an enterprize of greater magnitude and diffi-

(c) A few men of colour alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the common cauſe; *viz.* Monſieur *Le Point*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the St. Marc's legion, who, with about 300 Mulattoes under his command, kept the pariſh of L'Arcahaye in complete ſubjection for a conſiderable time. 2. *Boucquet*, Major of the *Milice Royale* of Verettes, a perſon much attached to the Engliſh. 3. *Charles Savory*, who commanded a very important poſt in the plain of Artibonite, upon the river D'Eſterre. Great confidence was placed in this man by Colonel Briſbane, and never was it abuſed. All theſe men were well educated, and nouriſhed deep reſentment againſt the French planters, on account of the indignities which the claſs of coloured people had received from them. At Cape Tiburon, three or four hundred blacks were embodied very early, under a black general named Iean Kina, who ſerved well and faithfully.

CHAP. X.

culty than the Britiſh government ſeem to have imagined. Conſidering the extent and natural ſtrength of the country, it may well be doubted, whether all the force which Great Britain could have ſpared, would have been ſufficient to reduce it to ſubjection, and reſtore it at the ſame time to ſuch a degree of order and ſubordination, as to make it a colony worth holding. The truth ſeems to have been, that General Williamſon, to whom, as hath been obſerved, the direction and diſtribution of the armament was entruſted, and whoſe active zeal in the ſervice of his country was eminently conſpicuous, was deceived, equally with the King's miniſters, by the favourable accounts and exaggerated repreſentations of ſanguine and intereſted individuals, concerning the diſpoſition of their countrymen, the white planters remaining in St. Domingo. Inſtead of the few hundreds of them which afterwards reſorted to the Britiſh ſtandard, the Governor had reaſon to expect the ſupport and co-operation of at leaſt as many thouſands. In this fatal confidence, the armament allotted for this important expedition was compoſed of only the 13th regiment of foot, ſeven companies of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery, altogether amounting to about eight hundred and ſeventy, rank and file, fit for duty. Such was the force that was to annex to the crown of Great Britain, a country nearly equal in extent, and in natural ſtrength infinitely ſuperior, to Great Britain itſelf! Speedy and effectual reinforcements from England were, however, promiſed, as well to replace the troops which were removed from Jamaica, as to aid the operations in St. Domingo.

CHAP. X.

1793.

In the meantime, the firſt diviſion, conſiſting of ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, ſailed from Port Royal the 9th of September, and arrived at Jeremie on the 19th of the ſame month. They were eſcorted by Commodore Ford, in the Europa, accompanied by four or five frigates.

As the propoſitions, or terms of capitulation, had been previouſly adjuſted between the people of Jeremie, by their agent Mr. Charmilly, and General Williamſon, it only remained for the Britiſh forces to take poſſeſſion of the town and harbour. Accordingly, the troops diſembarked early the next morning; the Britiſh colours were hoiſted at both the forts, with royal ſalutes from each, which were anſwered by the Commodore and his ſquadron, and the oaths of fidelity and allegiance were taken by the reſident inhabitants, with an appearance of great zeal and alacrity.

At the ſame time information was received, that the garriſon at the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, were inclined to ſurrender that important fortreſs in like manner. As this was a circumſtance not to be neglected, the Commodore immediately directed his courſe thither, and, on the 22d, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs and harbour, and received the allegiance of the officers and privates. The grenadier company of the 13th regiment, was forthwith diſpatched from Jeremie to take the command of the garriſon; which was ſoon afterwards ſtrengthened by the arrival of the ſecond diviſion of the armament ordered from Jamaica, conſiſting of five companies of forty men each.

CHAP. X.

THE voluntary ſurrender of theſe places raiſed expectations in the people of England, that the whole of the French colony in St. Domingo would ſubmit without oppoſition; but the advantages hitherto obtained, ſeem to have been greatly overvalued. The town of Jeremie is a place of no importance.—It contains about one hundred very mean houſes, and the country in the vicinage is not remarkably fertile; producing nothing of any account but coffee. At the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas, the country is even leſs productive than in the neighbourhood of Jeremie; but the harbour is one of the fineſt in the new world, and the fortifications vie with the ſtrongeſt in the Weſt Indies: unfortunately, from the elevation of the ſurrounding heights, the place is not tenable againſt a powerful attack by land. The garriſon conſiſted only of the regiment of Dillon, which was reduced by ſickneſs or deſertion to about one hundred and fifty men. The town of St. Nicholas adjoining, was in the higheſt degree hoſtile: moſt of the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, left the place on the arrival of the Engliſh, and joined the republican army.

ZEALOUS, however, to promote the glory of the Britiſh name, Colonel Whitelocke determined that his little army ſhould not continue inactive at Jeremie. It was repreſented to him, that the acquiſition of the neighbouring poſt of Tiburon would prove of the utmoſt importance towards the ſecurity of Grand Ance, and a M. Duval pledging himſelf to raiſe five hundred men to co-operate in its reduction, an expedition was undertaken for that purpoſe, and Colonel Whitelocke, with moſt of the

the Britiſh force from Jeremie, arrived in Tiburon Bay on the 4th of October. CHAP. X. 1793.

But, on this occaſion, as on almoſt every other, the Engliſh had a melancholy proof how little dependence can be placed on French declarations and aſſurances. Duval never made his appearance, for he was not able to collect fifty men; the enemy's force was found to be far more formidable than had been repreſented, and the gallantry of our troops proved unavailing againſt ſuperiority of numbers. They were compelled to retreat, with the loſs of about twenty men killed and wounded.

The defeat and diſcouragement ſuſtained in this attack were the more grievouſly felt, as ſickneſs began to prevail to a great extent in the army. The ſeaſon of the year was unfavourable in the higheſt degree for military operations in a tropical climate. The rains were inceſſant; and the conſtant and unuſual fatigue, and extraordinary duty to which the ſoldiers, from the ſmallneſs of their number, were neceſſarily ſubject, co-operating with the ſtate of the weather, produced the moſt fatal conſequences. That never-failing attendant on military expeditions in the Weſt Indies, the yellow or peſtilential fever, raged with dreadful virulence, and ſo many, both of the ſeamen and ſoldiers, periſhed daily, that the ſurvivors were ſtricken with aſtoniſhment and horror at beholding the havock made among their comrades!

General Williamson, with his uſual humanity, exerted himſelf to give them all the relief in his power. Unhappily he had

CHAP. X.

had no alternative but either to withdraw the troops altogether from St. Domingo, leaving our allies and new ſubjects, the French planters who had ſworn allegiance to our government, to the mercy of their enemies, or to ſend, from an already exhauſted army, a ſmall reinforcement of men, to periſh probably in the ſame manner as thoſe had done whoſe numbers they were ſcarcely ſufficient to replace.

THE latter meaſure was adopted: in truth, the circumſtances of the caſe admitted of no other. The remainder of the 49th regiment, the 20th, and the royals, amounting altogether to ſeven or eight hundred men, were therefore diſpatched with all poſſible expedition; and the ſafety of Jamaica was at length entruſted to leſs than four hundred regular troops.

THE ſudden appearance in St. Domingo of a reinforcement, though ſmall in itſelf, produced however a conſiderable effect among the French planters, by inducing a belief that the Britiſh government was now ſeriouſly reſolved to follow up the blow. In the beginning of December, the pariſhes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahaye, and Boucaſſin ſurrendered on the ſame conditions as had been granted to Jeremie; and their example was ſoon afterwards followed by the inhabitants of Leogane. All the former pariſhes are ſituated on the north ſide of the Bight: Leogane on the ſouth.

THE Britiſh commanders now directed their views once more towards the capture of Tiburon. The defeat which our troops had

had ſuſtained in the late attack of that important poſt, ſerved only to animate them to greater exertions; but a conſiderable time unavoidably elapſed before the expedition took place; the interval being employed in ſecuring the places which had ſurrendered. On the 21ſt of January, however, the Commodore touched at Jeremie with the ſquadron, and received the troops on board; and the whole arrived off Cape Tiburon on the evening of the 2d of February. 1794.

The enemy appeared in conſiderable force, and ſeemed to wait the arrival of the Britiſh with great reſolution; but a few broadſides from the ſhips ſoon cleared the beach. They came forward however again, as the flank companies approached the ſhore, and directed a general diſcharge of muſquetry at the boats; but our troops landed and formed in an inſtant, routed their line with great ſlaughter, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the poſt. The gallantry of Major Spencer who commanded, and of the officers and men who compoſed, the flank companies, was particularly conſpicuous. It ſeems, indeed, to have been a ſpirited and well conducted enterprize throughout; and it was happily effected with the loſs of only three of the Engliſh killed, and ſeven wounded. Of the enemy, one hundred and fifty ſurrendered priſoners of war; and their magazines were found replete with ammunition.

By the poſſeſſion of this poſt on the ſouth, and that of the Mole at Cape St. Nicholas on the north-weſtern part of the iſland, the Britiſh ſquadron commanded the navigation of the

CHAP. X.

the whole of that extenſive bay which forms the Bight of Leogane, and the capture of the forts, ſhipping, and town of Port au Prince (the metropolis of the French colony) ſeemed more than probable, on the arrival of a large armament now daily expected, with much anxiety, from England.

In the mean while (the reduced ſtate and condition of the troops not admitting of great enterprize) the commander in chief conceived an idea of obtaining poſſeſſion of the town of Port Paix, an important ſtation to the eaſtward of Cape St. Nicholas, *by private negociation.* The town was commanded by Lavaux, an old general in the French ſervice, to whom Colonel Whitelocke addreſſed himſelf by letter, which he ſent with a flag, and offered five thouſand pounds to be paid to him in perſon, on his delivering up the poſt. Colonel Whitelocke ſeems, however, to have miſtaken the character of Lavaux, who was not only a man of diſtinguiſhed bravery, but of great probity. His anſwer is remarkable: "You "have endeavoured (ſaid he) to diſhonour me in the eyes of "my troops, by ſuppoſing me ſo vile, flagitious, and baſe, as to "be capable of betraying my truſt for a bribe: this is an affront "for which you owe me perſonal ſatisfaction, and I demand it "in the name of honour. Wherefore, previous to any general "action, I offer you ſingle combat until one of us falls; leaving "to you the choice of arms, either on foot or horſeback. Your "ſituation, as my enemy on the part of your country, did not give "you a right to offer me a perſonal inſult; and as a private

"perſon,

" perſon, I aſk ſatisfaction for an injury done me by an indi- CHAP. X.
" vidual *(d)*."

THIS attempt therefore proving abortive, it was determined (now that the ſeaſon was favourable) in order that the troops might not continue inactive, as well as to facilitate the meditated reduction of Port au Prince, to attack *L'Acul*, an important fortreſs in the vicinity of Leogane. Accordingly, on the 19th of February, the flank companies, a detachment of the royal artillery, and of the 13th regiment, with ſome colonial troops, having two five half-inch howitzers and two four-pounders, marched from thence under the command of Colonel Whitelocke, at four in the morning. Baron de Montalembert, with about two hundred colonial troops, and a few of the Britiſh artillery, were previouſly embarked on tranſports, and ordered to land and attack the fort at an hour appointed. Captain Vincent, with the light infantry of the 49th, and about eighty of the colonial troops, took a mountain road, while Colonel Whitelocke moved forward on the great road, and took poſt juſt out of cannon ſhot, waiting the united attacks of the Baron and Captain Vincent's detachments. The enemy began to cannonade about ſeven o'clock, and continued 1794.

(d) Colonel Whitelocke, I ſuppoſe, rejected the challenge; but the officer who was ſent by him with the letter to Lavaux, had a ſervice of danger; for Lavaux, having ſilently read the letter, compelled him to declare, upon the honour of a ſoldier, whether he knew the contents of it. The officer, as the fact was, anſwered in the negative. The French general thereupon read the letter aloud to the people who ſurrounded him, and told the Britiſh officer, that if he had brought him ſuch a propoſal *knowingly*, he would inſtantly have cauſed him to be executed on a gibbet.

CHAP. X.

it with intervals till eleven, when Colonel Whitelocke ordered Captain Smith, with the howitzers and cannon, to advance and fire upon the fort, ſupported by the light infantry of the royals and 13th regiments, under the command of Major Spencer, in order to give time for the Baron's people to land. Unfortunately, from the miſmanagement of one of the tranſports, the troops under the orders of the Baron de Montalembert could not be landed. Colonel Whitelocke, therefore, finding he had nothing to expect from them, the day being conſiderably advanced, now came to the determination of attacking the fort by ſtorm; and detached Major Spencer, with the grenadiers of the 49th regiment, and light infantry of the 13th, to join Captain Vincent, and approach the fort by the mountain road, while he himſelf marched by the great road for the ſame purpoſe. At half paſt four or five o'clock, the two columns moved forward, and the moment the enemy diſcovered the march of Colonel Whitelocke's diviſion, they commenced a very heavy fire of cannon and muſquetry. Orders were immediately given for the column to advance and gain the fort, which orders were gallantly and rapidly executed. At this inſtant, Lieutenant M'Kerras of the engineers, and Captain Hutchinſon of the royals, were both wounded; but they continued their exertions, notwithſtanding, till the fort was in quiet poſſeſſion of the victors. Our loſs was not great; but Captain Morſhead (who had before received a ſhot in the body, when gallantly mounting the hill) with Lieutenant Tinlin of the 20th grenadiers, Lieutenant Caulfield of the 62d regiment, and ſome privates, were unfortunately blown up from an exploſion which took place after the fort was taken; for the officer who commanded, finding he could no longer defend it, placed

placed a quantity of powder and other combuſtibles in one of the buildings, which was fired by an unfortunate brigand, who periſhed in the exploſion. Captain Morſhead died the next day, and was interred with military honours, attended by the Britiſh garriſon; Lieutenant Caulfield lingered ſome time longer, and then followed him to the grave; but Lieutenant Tinlin recovered.

THE next enterprize of our gallant little army had a leſs favourable termination. It was directed againſt a ſtrong poſt and ſettlement at a place called *Bompard*, about fifteen miles from Cape St. Nicholas, where a hardy race of people, chiefly a colony of Germans, had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and lived in unambitious poverty. A detachment of two hundred men, from the different corps, were ordered on this ſervice in two diviſions, one of which was commanded by Major Spencer, the brave and active officer already mentioned, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Markham. Of their proceedings during the attack, and their retreat afterwards, I have not been furniſhed with the particulars. All that is known to the publick with certainty is, that our troops were repulſed by ſuperior numbers, with the loſs of forty men, but without any diminution of the national character. It was allowed, even by the enemy, that they fought bravely. They were defeated, not diſmayed, by circumſtances probably which they did not foreſee, and againſt which human prudence could not provide.

THIS afflicting loſs was but ill compenſated, by the very diſtinguiſhed honour which was ſoon afterwards acquired by the

CHAP. X. 1794.

few Britiſh troops that had been left in poſſeſſion of Cape Tiburon, who were attacked on the 16th of April, by an army of brigands amounting to upwards of two thouſand. The enemy's force was led on by Andrew Rigaud, a man of colour, who commanded at Aux Cayes, and was compoſed of revolted negroes, and deſperadoes of all deſcriptions, rapacious after plunder, and thirſting for blood. This ſavage horde ſurrounded the fort about three o'clock in the morning. It was defended with much ſpirit until a quarter before nine, when the beſieged, quitting the fort, aſſailed the aſſailants, and routed the beſiegers with great ſlaughter, one hundred and ſeventy of their number being left dead on the field; but when it was diſcovered that no leſs than twenty-eight of our gallant ſoldiers had loſt their lives, and that one hundred and nine others were ſeverely wounded in this bloody conteſt, the ſhouts of triumph were ſuppreſſed by gloomy reflections on the forlorn condition of the army, it being mournfully evident that a few more ſuch victories would annihilate the victors!

The whole of the Britiſh force at this time in all parts of St. Domingo did not, I believe, amount to nine hundred effective men, a number by no means ſufficient to garriſon the places in our poſſeſſion; and the rapid diminution which prevailed among them, could not fail to attract obſervation among all claſſes of the French inhabitants; to diſpirit our allies, and encourage our enemies. Such of the planters as had hitherto ſtood aloof, now began to declare themſelves hoſtile; and deſertions were frequent from moſt of the pariſhes that had ſurrendered. At Jean Rabell, a place which, a few months before, had voluntarily

CHAP. X.

tarily declared for the Britiſh government, the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty of our ſuppoſed allies, roſe on their officers, and compelled them to deliver up the poſt to Lavaux, the French general, and it was greatly apprehended that, unleſs a very powerful reinforcement ſhould ſpeedily arrive to ſtrengthen the Britiſh army, many other places would follow their example.

May 1794.

EIGHT months had now elapſed ſince the ſurrender of Jeremie, and in all that interval, not a ſoldier had arrived from Great Britain; and the want of camp-equipage, proviſions, and neceſſaries, was grievouſly felt. The army ſeemed devoted to inevitable deſtruction, and diſappointment and diſmay were ſtrongly marked in the countenance of every man. At length, however, on the 19th of May, when expectation was nearly loſt in deſpair, it was announced that his Majeſty's ſhips the Belliqueux and the Irreſiſtible, with the Fly ſloop, had caſt anchor in the harbour of Cape St. Nicholas, having on board the 22d, 23d, and 41ſt regiments of infantry, under the command of Brigadier General Whyte. This event, as may well be imagined, afforded infinite relief and ſatisfaction to the haraſſed and worn-out troops on ſhore; and their animation on this occaſion was heightened by the confident hope and expectation that Port au Prince would be the object of an immediate attack. It was known that its harbour was crowded with ſhips, moſt of which were ſuppoſed to be laden with the richeſt productions of the colony; and although the regiments newly arrived did not exceed ſixteen hundred men in the whole (of whom two hundred and fifty were ſick and convaleſcent) the deficiency of numbers was no longer the ſubject of complaint. Every one anticipated

CHAP. X.

to himſelf the poſſeſſion of great wealth from the capture; and juſtly concluded that his ſhare of the prize money would augment or diminiſh in an inverſe proportion to the number of captors.

The belief that Port au Prince would be the firſt object of attack, was well founded; and the road of Arcahaye was fixed on as the place of rendezvous for the men of war and tranſports. Accordingly, General Whyte, having landed his ſick at Cape St. Nicholas, and taken one hundred and fifty of the garriſon in their room, proceeded on the 23d to the place appointed, to concert meaſures with Commodore Ford, and receive on board ſuch of the colonial troops as were to co-operate with the Britiſh in this enterprize. On the 30th the ſquadron ſailed from Arcahaye, and caſt anchor off Port au Prince on the evening of the ſame day. It was compoſed of four ſhips of the line, the Europa, the Belliqueux, the Irreſiſtible and the Sceptre, three frigates, and four or five ſmaller veſſels; the whole under the immediate command of Commodore Ford; and the land forces, under the orders of General Whyte, conſiſted of 1,465 rank and file fit for duty.

The whole force being thus collected, and the neceſſary preparations made, a flag was ſent, early the next morning, to demand the ſurrender of the place; but the officer charged with the diſpatch, was informed that no flag would be admitted, and the letter was returned unopened. It was now determined to commence operations by the cannonade of Fort Bizotton, a fortreſs ſituated on a commanding eminence, well adapted to guard the approach to the harbour, and defended by five hundred

dred men, eight pieces of heavy cannon, and two mortars. Two line of battle ſhips were ordered to attack the ſea-front, and a frigate was ſtationed cloſe to the ſhore, to flank a ravine to the eaſtward. From theſe veſſels a briſk and well-directed fire was maintained for ſeveral hours; but no great impreſſion appearing to be made, Major Spencer, with three hundred Britiſh, and about five hundred of the colonial troops, was put on ſhore in the evening, within a mile of the fort, with orders to commence an attack on the ſide of the land. On their arrival at a ſmall diſtance from the ſcene of action, about eight o'clock at night, a moſt tremendous thunder-ſtorm aroſe, accompanied with a deluge of rain, of which, as it overpowered the ſound of their approach, the advanced guard, commanded by Captain Daniel, of the 41ſt, determined to take advantage. Theſe brave men, ſixty only in number, accordingly ruſhed forward, and finding a breach in the walls, entered with fixed bayonets, and became inſtantly maſters of the fortreſs; the beſieged every where throwing down their arms and calling for mercy. So rapid were the movements of this gallant band, and ſo unexpected was their ſucceſs, that Major Spencer, the commander, had his fears for the ſafety of the whole party, of whoſe ſituation he was unapprized for ſome hours. I grieve to add, that Captain Daniel, who ſo gallantly led the advanced guard on this occaſion, received a ſevere wound in the attack, while his brave aſſociate, Captain Wallace, the ſecond in command, was moſt unfortunately killed on the glacis.

The poſſeſſion of Fort Bizotton determined the fate of the capital, which was evacuated by the enemy on the 4th of June; and

CHAP. X.

and the Britiſh commanders were ſo fortunate as to preſerve, not only the town itſelf, but alſo the ſhipping in the harbour, from conflagration, although the republican commiſſioners had given orders and made preparations for ſetting fire to both. The commiſſioners themſelves, with many of their adherents, made their eſcape to the mountains.

THUS was achieved the conqueſt of Port au Prince; an event which has proved not leſs profitable than honourable to ſuch of the officers and ſoldiers by whom it was effected, as have lived to enjoy the fruits of their victory; for there were captured in the harbour, two-and-twenty top-ſail veſſels, fully laden with ſugar, indigo, and coffee, of which thirteen were from three to five hundred tons burthen, and the remaining nine, from one hundred and fifty to three hundred tons; beſides ſeven thouſand tons of ſhipping in ballaſt; the value of all which, at a moderate computation, could not be far ſhort of £. 400,000 ſterling.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Sickneſs among the Troops, and the Cauſes thereof.—Reinforcement.—Dreadful Mortality.—General Whyte is ſucceeded by Brigadier General Horneck.—Leogane taken by the Rebels.—Temporary Succeſſes of Lieutenant-Colonel Briſbane at Artibonite.—Revolt of the Mulattoes at St. Marc.—Attack of Fort Bizotton.—Preparations by Rigaud for a ſecond Attempt on Tiburon.—The Poſt attacked on Chriſtmas Day, and carried.—Gallant Defence and Eſcape of the Garriſon, and melancholy Fate of Lieutenant Baſkerville.—Lieutenant-Colonels Briſbane and Markham killed.—Obſervations and Strictures on the Conduct of the War.

CHAP. XI.

FROM the ſucceſs which attended the Britiſh arms in the conqueſt of Port au Prince, it might have been hoped that we were now to enter on the ſurvey of brighter proſpects than thoſe which have hitherto preſented themſelves to our contemplation; but a melancholy reverſe of fortune was ſoon to await the conquerors; for, immediately after poſſeſſion was taken of the town, the ſame dreadful ſcourge—diſeaſe, exaſperated to contagion, which had been ſo fatally prevalent among our troops, in the preceding autumn, renewed its deſtructive progreſs; and, on this occaſion, it is not difficult to trace the proximate cauſes of ſo terrible a calamity. The ſituation of

CHAP. XI.

the town of Port au Prince has already been noticed. Unhealthy in itſelf, it is ſurrounded by fortified heights, which command both the lines and the harbour; and theſe heights are again commanded by others. Here, the enemy, on their retreat from the town, made their ſtand, in the well-founded confidence of receiving regular ſupplies of men, ammunition, and neceſſaries from Aux Cayes, a ſea-port on the ſouthern coaſt, diſtant only from Port au Prince by a very eaſy road, about forty miles *(a)*. No part of St. Domingo poſſeſſes a more ready communication with the French Iſlands to windward, or with the ſtates of America, than the port laſt mentioned; and from both thoſe ſources, reinforcements were conſtantly poured into the enemy's camp. On this account the Britiſh commanders found it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to ſtrengthen the lines, and raiſe additional intrenchments and works on that ſide of the town which fronts the mountains. Thus a moſt ſevere and unuſual burthen was impoſed on the ſoldiers. They were compelled, with but little intermiſſion, to dig the ground in the day, and to perform military duty in the night; expoſed, in the one caſe, to the burning rays of the ſun; in the other, to the noxious dews and heavy rains of the climate. Such extraordinary and

(a) The harbour of Aux Cayes was guarded by two ſmall forts, each of which was furniſhed with only ſix pieces of cannon, and a ſmaller battery, which mounted only five pieces. The number of white inhabitants belonging to the town were computed at eight hundred; but the people of colour had taken poſſeſſion of it the latter end of 1792, and Andrew Rigaud, a Mulatto, was made commander in chief and governor-general of the ſouth ſide of the French part of St. Domingo. His power was abſolute, and his brother, of the ſame colour, was appointed next in command. Theſe men were inveſted with this authority by the two commiſſioners, Polverel and Santhonax.

exceſſive labour impoſed on men, moſt of whom had been actually confined ſix months on ſhip-board, without freſh proviſions or exerciſe, co-operating with the malignancy of the air, produced its natural conſequences. They dropt like the leaves in autumn, until at length the garriſon became ſo diminiſhed and enfeebled, that deficiencies of the guards were oftentimes made up from convaleſcents, who were ſcarcely able to ſtand under their arms *(b)*.

It is true, that a reinforcement came from the Windward Iſlands, ſoon after the ſurrender of the town;—but, by a mournful fatality, this apparent augmentation of the ſtrength of the garriſon, contributed in an eminent degree to the rapid encreaſe and aggravation of its miſeries. On the 8th of June, eight flank companies belonging to the 22d, 23d, 35th, and 41ſt regiments, arrived at Port au Prince, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox. They conſiſted, on their embarkation, of about ſeventy men each, but the aggregate number, when landed, was not quite three hundred. The four grenadier companies, in particular, were nearly annihilated. The frigate in which they were conveyed, became *a houſe of peſtilence*. Upwards of one hundred of their number were buried in the deep, in the ſhort paſſage between Guadaloupe and Jamaica, and one hundred and fifty more were left in a dying ſtate at Port Royal. The wretched remains of the whole de-

(b) It was fortunate for the Britiſh army, that the French troops ſuffered by ſickneſs almoſt as much as our own: Port au Prince would otherwiſe have been but a ſhort time in our poſſeſſion.

CHAP. XI.

tachment discovered, on their landing at Port au Prince, that they came—not to participate in the glories of conquest, but—to perish themselves within the walls of an hospital! So rapid was the mortality in the British army, after their arrival, that no less than forty officers and upwards of six hundred rank and file met an untimely death, without a contest with any other enemy than sickness, in the short space of two months after the surrender of the town.

General Whyte, his health much impaired, and hopeless, it may be presumed, of further triumphs, with an army thus reduced and debilitated, now solicited and obtained permission to return to Europe. He was succeeded in the chief command by Brigadier-General Horneck, who arrived from Ja-
1794. maica about the middle of September; and if the requisite qualifications for such a station—firmness without arrogance, and conciliating manners without weakness, could always ensure success to the possessor, General Horneck would have brought good fortune with him. But the difficulties which the former commander would have had to encounter, had he remained in his station, devolved with aggravated weight on his successor. The only reinforcement which followed General Horneck, consisted of fifty men from Jamaica. Whatever troops were promised or expected from Great Britain, none arrived, until the expiration of seven months after General Horneck had taken the command. Instead, therefore, of attempting new achievements, he was compelled, by irresistible necessity, to act chiefly
Oct. 1794. on the defensive. The rebel Mulattoes, under Rigaud, even became masters of Leogane, and satiated their vengeance by putting

putting to death all ſuch of the French planters, our allies, as unfortunately fell into their power.

On the other hand, the judicious exertions and rapid ſucceſſes of Lieutenant-Colonel Briſbane on the plain of Artibonite, had been for ſome time the ſubject of much applauſe, and had given birth to great expectation. The French inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of St. Marc, had been all along more heartily diſpoſed to co-operate with the Engliſh, than any of their countrymen. Mr. Briſbane had not above fourſcore Britiſh under his command. The reſt of his little army was compoſed of the remains of Dillon's regiment, the St. Marc's legion, the militia of the neighbouring pariſhes, and a body of about three hundred reluctant Spaniards from Verette; the whole not exceeding twelve hundred men in arms. With this force, properly diſtributed, he had routed the republican troops and rebel negroes in every quarter; and even brought the negro chiefs to ſolicit permiſſion to capitulate. Eight or ten thouſand of theſe deluded wretches, had actually ſubmitted unconditionally, and many returned, of their own accord, to the plantations of their maſters. But theſe promiſing appearances were of ſhort continuance. While Colonel Briſbane was following up his ſucceſſes in a diſtant part of Artibonite, the men of colour in the town of St. Marc, ſeduced by the promiſes of the French commiſſioners, and finding the town itſelf without troops, had violated their promiſes of neutrality, and on the 6th of September taken up arms on the part of the republick; putting to death every man that fell in their way, whom they conſidered as an enemy to the French commiſſioners.

CHAP. XI.

commiſſioners.—The garriſon, conſiſting of about forty Britiſh convaleſcents, threw themſelves into a ſmall fort on the ſea-ſhore, which they gallantly defended for two days, when a frigate came to their relief from the Mole of Cape St. Nicholas.—The triumph of the Mulattoes, however, was tranſient. Colonel Briſbane attacked them on the ſide of the land, and recovered the town; making upwards of three hundred of the inſurgents priſoners, and driving the reſt over the Artibonite river; but the advantages which he had obtained on the plain, were loſt in the interim. The negro chiefs no longer ſolicited to capitulate, but appeared in greater force than ever. Being joined by the fugitive Mulattoes, they ſoon repaſſed the river;
1794. and having, in the beginning of October, obtained poſſeſſion of two out-poſts (St. Michael and St. Raphael) they had procured plenty of arms and ammunition, and now threatened ſo formidable an attack on the town of St. Marc, as to excite the moſt ſerious apprehenſions for its ſafety.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in the weſtern parts of St. Domingo about the period of General Horneck's arrival. The northern province (the Mole of St. Nicholas and the town of Fort Dauphin excepted) was entirely in poſſeſſion of the rebel negroes; and unhappily, in all other parts of the colony, the weakneſs of the Britiſh was ſo apparent, as not only to invite attacks from the enemy, but alſo to encourage revolt and conſpiracy in the poſts in our poſſeſſion *(c)*. Rigaud, who commanded

(c) Colonel Briſbane had ſcarcely driven the Mulattoes from St. Marc, and reſtored order and tranquillity in the town, before a dark conſpiracy was agitated among

manded in the ſouth, now determined to make a bold effort for the recovery of Fort Bizotton, in which, if he had ſucceeded, the loſs of the whole of the Britiſh army at Port au Prince would have been inevitable. The fort was attacked early in the morning of the 5th of December, by three columns of the enemy, amounting in the whole to about two thouſand men; but they were defeated with great ſlaughter on their part, and with little loſs on ours. Captain Grant, however, and both his lieutenants, Clunes and Hamilton, were ſeverely wounded early in the attack; yet they continued their efforts, and nobly ſucceeded; and General Williamſon bore teſtimony to their good conduct and valour.

BAFFLED in this attack, Rigaud reſolved to make another, and a more formidable attempt, for the recovery of Tiburon. His intentions were known, and his project might have been defeated, if any one Engliſh ſhip of war could have been ſpared to watch his motions off the harbour of Aux Cayes, from whence he conveyed his artillery, ammunition, and proviſions. He proceeded, however, without interruption in his

among ſome of the French inhabitants under the Britiſh protection to cut him off; but it was happily diſcovered and defeated before it broke out into action. This happened the beginning of January 1795; and a ſtill more daring and dangerous plot was carried on a month afterwards in Port au Prince, to ſeize on the garriſon, and put all the Engliſh to death. This conſpiracy alſo was fortunately diſcovered, and twenty of the conſpirators being brought to trial before a council of war, compoſed of the principal commanders by ſea and land (among whom were five French field officers) they were all adjudged to ſuffer death, and fifteen of them were accordingly ſhot on the 18th of February.

preparations

CHAP. XI.

1794.

preparations for the attack; and his armament ſailed from Aux Cayes on the 23d of December. His naval force conſiſted of one brig of ſixteen guns, and three ſchooners of fourteen guns each, and he commanded a body of near three thouſand men, of all colours and deſcriptions. The attack commenced on Chriſtmas day. The garriſon, conſiſting of only four hundred and eighty men, made a vigorous defence for four days, when, having loſt upwards of three hundred of their number, and finding the poſt no longer tenable, the ſurvivors, headed by their gallant commander, Lieutenant Bradford, of the 23d regiment, with unexampled bravery fought their way for five miles through the enemy, and got ſafe to Irois. Lieutenant Baſkerville was the only officer who, by ſome unfortunate circumſtance, was unable to join his companions in their retreat; and this high-ſpirited young man, with a reſolution which, though a Chriſtian muſt condemn it, a Roman would have approved, to defeat the triumph of his ſavage enemy, who would probably have made him ſuffer a ſhameful death, put a period to his own exiſtence, as Rigaud entered the fort.

WITH this diſaſtrous occurrence terminated the year 1794 *(d)*, and here I ſhall cloſe my account of the military tranſactions of

(d) Major General Williamſon, the latter end of the year, was appointed governor-general and commander in chief of his Majeſty's poſſeſſions in St. Domingo; and was ſoon afterwards honoured with the order of the Bath—a diſtinction which he had nobly earned. He arrived at Port au Prince, and took upon him the government, in May 1795.

the

CHAP. XI.

the Britiſh army in St. Domingo; for, although hoſtilities are ſtill continued in this ill-fated country, it is, I think, ſufficiently apparent, that all hopes and expectations of ultimate ſucceſs are vaniſhed for ever! The hiſtorian who ſhall recount the events of 1795, will have to lament the mournful and untimely deaths of many brave and excellent young men who periſhed in this fruitleſs conteſt. Among the foremoſt of theſe was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Briſbane, of whom honourable mention is made in the foregoing pages, and whoſe gallantry and good conduct were not more the ſubject of univerſal admiration, than his untimely fate of univerſal regret. He was killed on a reconnoitring party in February. By his death, his country was deprived, at a moſt critical juncture, of an able, indefatigable, and intelligent officer, who had gained the affections of moſt of the various deſcriptions of people under his command by his kindneſs, and the confidence of all by his courage *(e)*. The ſame fate, a month afterwards, awaited Lieutenant-Colonel Markham, who periſhed in attacking an out-poſt of the enemy's forces which were at that time laying ſiege to Fort Bizotton. The out-poſt was carried; the colours of the enemy, and five pieces of their cannon, were taken, and upwards of ſix hundred of their number ſlain on the ſpot; but the victory was dearly obtained by the loſs of ſo enterprizing and accompliſhed a leader. Yet it affords ſome conſolation to reflect, that theſe brave young men, though cut off in the bloom of life, fell in the field of glory, nobly exerting them-

(e) He was a captain in the 49th regiment, and lieutenant colonel of the colonial corps called the St. Marc's Legion.

CHAP. XI.

ſelves in the cauſe of their country, and dying amidſt the bleſſings and applauſes of their compatriots. Alas, how many of their youthful aſſociates, in this unhappy war, might have envied them ſo glorious an exit! What numbers have periſhed—not in the field of honour—but on the bed of ſickneſs!—not amidſt the ſhouts of victory—but the groans of deſpair!—condemned to linger in the horrors of peſtilence; to fall without a conflict, and to die without renown *(f)*!

THESE reflections, and the obſervations which I have made in the preceding pages, on the inſufficiency of the means to the

(f) The diſeaſe in which ſo many gallant men have periſhed, is commonly known by the name of the *yellow fever*. Two writers of great ability (Dr. Ruſh of Philadelphia, and Dr. Benjamin Moſeley of Pall Mall, London) have treated fully of this dreadful calamity. The picture which the latter has given of an unhappy patient of his in the Weſt Indies, a young officer of great merit, in the laſt ſtage of this diſeaſe, after four days illneſs, is drawn by the hand of a maſter. "I arrived at the lodgings of this much-eſteemed young man (ſays the doctor) about four hours before his death. When I entered the room, he was vomiting a black muddy cruor, and was bleeding at the noſe. A bloody ichor was oozing from the corners of his eyes, and from his mouth and gums. His face was beſmeared with blood, and, with the dulneſs of his eyes, it preſented a moſt diſtreſſing contraſt to his natural viſage. His abdomen was ſwelled, and inflated prodigiouſly. His body was all over of a deep yellow, interſperſed with livid ſpots. His hands and feet were of a livid hue. Every part of him was cold excepting about his heart. He had a deep ſtrong hiccup, but neither delirium nor coma; and was, at my firſt ſeeing him, as I thought, in his perfect ſenſes. He looked at the changed appearance of his ſkin, and expreſſed, though he could not ſpeak, by his ſad countenance, that he knew life was ſoon to yield up her citadel, now abandoning the reſt of his body. Exhauſted with vomiting, he at laſt was ſuffocated with the blood he was endeavouring to bring up, and expired."

Moſeley on Tropical Diſeaſes, 3d edit. p. 459.

objects

CHAP. XI.

objects in view, are not written in the ſpirit of accuſation againſt men in authority; nor (if I know myſelf) is there any bias of party zeal on my judgment. I am far from aſſerting, that the ſituation and reſources of Great Britain were ſuch as to afford a greater body of troops for ſervice in St. Domingo, at the proper moment, than the number that was actually ſent thither. I preſume not to intrude into the national councils, and am well apprized that exiſting alliances and pre-engagements of the ſtate, were objects of important conſideration to his Majeſty's miniſters. Neither can I affirm, that the delays and obſtructions, which prevented the arrival at the ſcene of action of ſome of the detachments, until the return of the ſickly ſeaſon, were avoidable. A thouſand accidents and caſualties continually ſubvert and overthrow the beſt laid ſchemes of human contrivance. We have ſeen conſiderable fleets detained by adverſe winds, in the ports of Great Britain for many ſucceſſive months, and powerful armaments have been driven back by ſtorms and tempeſts, after many unavailing attempts to reach the place of their deſtination. Thus much I owe to candour; but, at the ſame time, I owe it alſo to truth to avow my opinion, that in caſe no greater force could have been ſpared for the enterprize againſt St. Domingo, the enterprize itſelf ought not to have been undertaken *. The

* If, from the ill ſucceſs which has attended the attack of St. Domingo, a juſtification of the original meaſure ſhall be thought neceſſary, it ought not to be overlooked, that General Williamſon, among other motives, had alſo ſtrong reaſon to believe, that attempts were meditated by the republican commiſſioners on the iſland of Jamaica. He therefore, probably thought, that the moſt certain way of preventing the ſucceſs of ſuch deſigns, was to give the commiſſioners ſufficient employment at home.—I write this note in juſtice to a diſtinguiſhed officer, than whom no man living has deſerved better of his country.

CHAP. XI.

object of the Britiſh miniſters was avowedly to obtain poſſeſſion of the whole of the French part of the country. That they placed great dependence on the co-operation of the French inhabitants, and were groſsly deceived by agents from thence, I believe and admit; but they ought ſurely to have foreſeen, that a very formidable oppoſition was to be expected from the partizans and troops of the republican government; and they ought alſo to have known, that no conſiderable body of the French planters could be expected to riſk their lives and fortunes in the common cauſe, but in full confidence of protection and ſupport. In my own judgment, all the force which Great Britain could have ſent thither, would not have been ſufficient for the complete ſubjugation of the colony. It is aſſerted by competent judges, that not leſs than ſix thouſand men were neceſſary for the ſecure maintenance of Port au Prince alone; yet I do not believe that the number of Britiſh, in all parts of St. Domingo, at any one period, previous to the month of April 1795, exceeded two thouſand two hundred, of whom, except at the capture of Port au Prince, not one half were fit for active ſervice; and during the hot and ſickly months of Auguſt, September, and October, not one third *(g)*.

PERHAPS

(g) The following returns are authentick.

Return of the provincial troops in the ſervice of the Britiſh government at St. Domingo, 1ſt January 1795.

	Rank and file fit for duty.	Sick.	Total.
At Port au Prince - -	496 —	48 —	544
Mole St. Nicholas - -	209 —	38 —	247
St. Marc - - - -	813 —	321 —	1134
	1518	407	1925

Return

CHAP. XI.

PERHAPS the moſt fatal overſight in the conduct of the whole expedition, was the ſtrange and unaccountable neglect of not ſecuring the town and harbour of Aux Cayes, and the little port of Jacmel on the ſame part of the coaſt, previous to the attack of Port au Prince. With thoſe places, on the one ſide of the peninſula, and the poſt of Acul in our poſſeſſion on the other, all communication between the Southern and the two other provinces would have been cut off; the navigation from the Windward Iſlands to Jamaica would have been ſecure, while the poſſeſſion of the two Capes which form the entrance into the Bight of Leogane (Cape Nicholas and Tiburon) would have protected the homeward trade in its courſe through the Windward Paſſage. All this might have been accompliſhed and ſecured; and I think it is all that, in ſound policy, ought to have been attempted. As to Port au Prince, it would have been for-

Return of the Britiſh forces in the iſland of St. Domingo, 1ſt January 1795.

	Rank and file effective.	Sick.	Total.
Port au Prince - - -	366	462	828
Mole St. Nicholas - -	209	166	375
Jeremie - - - -	95	59	154
Tiburon - - - -	34	18	52
St. Marc - - - -	48	33	81
	752	738	1490

The next reinforcement from Europe arrived the latter end of April 1795, and conſiſted of about fourteen hundred men (the 81ſt and 96th regiments): a further reinforcement (the 82d regiment) landed in Auguſt following. All theſe corps, the laſt eſpecially, from its landing at ſo unfavourable a ſeaſon, ſuffered prodigiouſly. The 82d landed nine hundred and eighty men, of whom ſix hundred and thirty were buried within ten weeks. In one of the companies, three rank and file only were able to do duty.

tunate

CHAP. XI.

tunate if the works had been deſtroyed, and the town evacuated immediately after its ſurrender.

THE retention by the enemy of Aux Cayes and Jacmel, not only enabled them to procure reinforcements and ſupplies, but alſo moſt amply to revenge our attempts on their coaſts, by repriſals on our trade. It is known that upwards of thirty privateers, ſome of them of conſiderable force, have been fitted out from thoſe ports, whoſe rapacity and vigilance ſcarce a veſſel bound from the Windward Iſlands to Jamaica can eſcape. The prizes which they made, in a few ſhort months, abundantly compenſated for the loſs of their ſhips at Port au Prince *(b)*.

AFTER

(b) The following is a liſt of veſſels bound to Jamaica, which were taken and carried into Aux Cayes, between June 1794 and June 1795, moſt of them laden with dry goods, proviſions, and plantation ſtores, and many of them of great value.

			From
The Edward	Wm Marſhall	13th June 1794,	Briſtol.
Fame	Robt Hall	July	L. and Cork.
Bellona	Thos White		Liverpool.
Hope	Wm Swan.		
Molly	Peter Mawdſley	5th Mar. 1795,	Africa, 300 negroes.
Hodge	Geo. Brown	19th Ditto,	Liverpool.
William	Thos Calloine	20th Ditto.	
Bell	Archd Weir	Ditto,	Greenock.
Buſtler	Sewell		a tranſport.
Druid	Wilſon	14th March,	Leith.
Martha	Wm Reid	31ſt March,	London.
Alexander	Benjn Moor	17th April,	Glaſgow.
Lovely Peggy	Peter Murphy.		
Swallow	Lachlan Vaſs	10th May.	

CHAP. XI.

AFTER all, though I have aſſerted nothing which I do not believe to be true, I will honeſtly admit, that many important facts and circumſtances, unknown to me, very probably exiſted, an acquaintance with which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable any man to form a correct judgment on the meaſures which were purſued on this occaſion. To a writer, ſitting with compoſure in his cloſet, with a partial diſplay of facts before him, it is no difficult taſk to point out faults and miſtakes in the conduct of publick affairs; and even where miſtakes are diſcovered, the wiſdom of after-knowledge is very cheaply acquired. It is the lot of our nature, that the beſt concerted plans of human policy are ſubject to errors which the meaneſt obſerver will ſometimes detect. "The hand (ſays an eminent writer) that "cannot build a hovel, may demoliſh a palace."

BUT, a new ſcene now opens for contemplation and reflection, ariſing from intelligence received ſince I began my work, that the Spaniſh government has formally ceded to the republick of

Dunmore - -	Stephen Conmick	26th May,	London.
Maria - - -	Wilkinſon - - - -		Ditto.
Minerva - - -	Robertſon	4th June,	Africa, 450 negroes.
General Mathew	Thoˢ Douglas	8th Ditto,	London.
A ſchooner, name forgot - -	Adam Walker -	22d Ditto,	Glaſgow.
Hope - - -	Hambleton	Ditto,	Ditto.
Caledonia - -	Hunter -	25th Ditto,	Leith, laſt from London.
Molly - - -	Simpſon -	27th Ditto,	Glaſgow.
Reſolution - -	Taunton -	29th Ditto,	Hull.

And ſeveral veſſels belonging to Kingſton, names forgot.

France

CHAP. XI.

France the whole of this great and noble iſland in perpetual ſovereignty! So extraordinary a circumſtance will doubtleſs give birth to much ſpeculation and enquiry, as well concerning the value and extent of the territory ceded, as the preſent diſpoſition and general character of the Spaniſh inhabitants. Will they reliſh this transfer of their allegiance from a monarchical to a republican government, made, as it confeſſedly is, without their previous conſent or knowledge; or may reaſonable expectations be encouraged, that they will now cordially co-operate with the Engliſh, in reducing the country to the Britiſh dominion? Will ſuch aſſiſtance effect the re-eſtabliſhment of ſubordination and good government among the vaſt body of revolted negroes? Theſe are deep queſtions, the inveſtigation of which will lead to enquiries of ſtill greater magnitude; for, whether we conſider the poſſeſſion, by an active and induſtrious people, of ſo vaſt a field for enterprize and improvement on the one hand, or the triumph of ſucceſsful revolt and ſavage anarchy on the other, it appears to me that the future fate and profitable exiſtence of the Britiſh territories in this part of the world, are involved in the iſſue. On all theſe, and various collateral ſubjects, I regret that I do not poſſeſs the means of giving much ſatisfaction to the reader. Such information, however, as I have collected on ſome of the preceding enquiries, and ſuch reflections as occur to me on others, will be found in the enſuing chapter, which concludes my work.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Ancient State of the Spaniſh Colony.—The Town of St. Domingo eſtabliſhed by Bartholomew Columbus in 1498.—*Pillaged by Drake in* 1586.—*Conjectures and Reflections concerning its preſent Condition, and the State of Agriculture in the interior Country.—Numbers and Character of the preſent Inhabitants.—Their Animoſity towards the French Planters, and Jealouſy of the Engliſh.—Conjectures concerning the future Situation of the whole Iſland; and ſome concluding Reflections.*

CHAP. XII.

THE Spaniſh colony in Hiſpaniola (the name St. Domingo being properly applicable to the chief city only) was the earlieſt eſtabliſhment made by the nations of Europe in the new world; and, unhappily, it is too notorious to be denied, that it was an eſtabliſhment founded in rapacity and cemented with blood! The ſole object of the firſt Spaniſh adventurers was to ranſack the bowels of the earth for ſilver and gold; in which frantick purſuit, they murdered at leaſt a million of the peaceful and inoffenſive natives! As the mines became exhauſted, a few of the more induſtrious entered on the cultivation of cacao, ginger, and ſugar; but the poverty of the greater part of the inhabitants, and the diſcovery of new mines in Mexico, occaſioned a prodigious emigration;—the experience of paſt diſappointments not proving ſufficiently powerful to cure the rage for acquiring wealth by a ſhorter courſe than that of patient induſtry. In leſs than a century, therefore, Hiſpaniola was nearly deſerted, and nothing preſerved it as a co-

CHAP. XII.

lony, but the eſtabliſhment of archiepiſcopal government in its chief city, St. Domingo, and its being for many years the ſeat of civil and criminal juriſdiction, in caſes of appeal, from all the territories of Spain in this part of the world *(a)*.

THE ſettlement of the French in the weſtern part of the iſland, of the origin of which I have already given an account, though the primary cauſe of hereditary and irreconcilable enmity between the two colonies, was however productive of good even to the Spaniards themſelves. As the French ſettlers increaſed in number, and their plantations became enlarged, they wanted oxen for their markets, and horſes for their mills. Theſe, their neighbours were able to ſupply without much exertion of labour; and thus an intercourſe was created, which has continued to the preſent day; the Spaniards receiving, through the French, the manufactures of Europe, in exchange for cattle. The example too, before their eyes, of ſucceſsful induſtry and growing proſperity, was not wholly without its effect. The cultivation of ſugar, which had diminiſhed nearly to nothing, was revived in different parts of the Spaniſh territory, and plantations were eſtabliſhed of cacao, indigo, ginger, and tobacco. The quantity of ſugar exported in the beginning of the preſent century, is ſaid to have amounted yearly to 15,000 cheſts each of 7 cwt.

THE country itſelf being evidently more mountainous in the central and eaſtern than in the weſtern parts, it is probable, that the Spaniſh territory is, on the whole, naturally leſs fer-

(a) The adminiſtration of juſtice throughout Spaniſh America is at preſent divided into twelve courts of *audience*, one only of which is at St. Domingo.

tile

tile than that of the French; but much the greater portion of the iſland remained, until the late treaty, under the Spaniſh dominion; and of that, by far the major part continues at this hour an unproductive wilderneſs. On the northern coaſt, the line of diviſion began at the river Maſſacre, and, croſſing the country ſomewhat irregularly, terminated on the ſouthern ſide, at a ſmall bay called *Les Ances à Pitre*; leaving about two-thirds of the whole iſland in the poſſeſſion of Spain. Proceeding eaſtward along the ſhore from the boundary on the north, the firſt place of note is Monte Chriſti, a town which formerly grew to importance by contraband traffick with North America, but is now reduced to a miſerable village, the abode of a few fiſhermen, and the ſurrounding country exhibits a melancholy proſpect of neglect and ſterility. The river St. Jago runs into the ſea at this place; on the banks of which, at ſome diſtance inland, are graſs farms of conſiderable extent. From the mouth of this river, for the ſpace of fifteen leagues, to Punta Iſabella (the ſcite of the firſt ſettlement eſtabliſhed by Chriſtopher Columbus) the ſoil, though capable of improvement, exhibits no ſign of cultivation. From Iſabella to old Cape François (with the exception of Puerto de Plata) the coaſt ſeems entirely deſerted; nor, after paſſing the bay of Samana, does a much better proſpect offer, until coaſting round the eaſtern extremity, we reach a vaſt extent of level country called *Los Llanos*, or the Plains; at the weſt end of which, on the banks of the river Ozama, ſtands the metropolis.

This city, which was long the moſt conſiderable in the new world, was founded by Bartholomew Columbus, in the year 1498, and named after a ſaint of great renown in thoſe days, St.

CHAP. XII.

Dominick. There is preſerved in Oviedo, a Spaniſh hiſtorian, who reſided here about thirty years after its firſt eſtabliſhment, an account of its ſtate and population at that period, which being equally authentick and curious, I ſhall preſent to the reader at length.

" But nowe (ſays the Hiſtorian) to ſpeake ſumwhat of the " principall and chiefe place of the iſlande, whiche is the citie " of *San Domenico:* I ſaye, that as touchynge the buildynges, " there is no citie in Spaine, ſo muche for ſo-muche (no not " *Barſalona*, whiche I have oftentymes ſeene) that is to bee " preferred before this generallye. For the houſes of San Do- " menico are for the moſte parte of ſtone, as are they of " Barſalona. The ſituation is muche better thā that of *Bar-* " *ſalona*, by reaſon that the ſtreates are much larger and playner, " and without comparyſon more directe and ſtrayght furth. " For beinge buylded nowe in our tyme, beſyde the commo- " ditie of the place of the foundation, the ſtreates were alſo " directed with corde compaſe and meaſure; werein it excelleth " al the cities that I have ſene. It hath the ſea ſo nere, that " of one ſyde there is no more ſpace betwen the ſea and the " citie, then the waules. On the other parte, hard by the " ſyde and at the foote of the houſes, paſſeth the ryver *Ozama*, " whiche is a marveylous porte; wherein laden ſhyppes ryſe " very nere to the lande, and in manner under the houſe wyn- " dowes. In the myddeſt of the citie is the fortreſſe and " caſtle; the port or haven alſo, is ſo fayre and commodious " to defraight or unlade ſhyppes, as the lyke is founde but in " fewe places of the worlde. The chymineis that are in this citie " are about ſyxe hundreth in number, and ſuch houſes as I have " ſpoken

CHAP. XII.

" ſpoken of before; of the which ſum are ſo fayre and large
" that they maye well receave and lodge any lorde or noble
" manne of Spayne, with his trayne and familie; and eſpecially
" that which Don *Diego Colon*, viceroy under your majeſtie,
" hath in this citie, is ſuche that I knowe no man in Spayne that
" hath the lyke, by a quarter, in goodneſſe, conſyderynge all the
" commodities of the ſame. Lykewyſe the ſituation thereof as
" beinge above the ſayde porte, and altogyther of ſtone, and
" havynge many faire and large roomes, with as goodly a pro-
" ſpect of the lande and ſea as may be devyſed, ſeemeth unto
" me ſo magnifical and princelyke, that your majeſtie may bee
" as well lodged therein as in any of the moſte exquiſite build-
" ed houſes of Spayne. There is alſo a cathedrall churche
" buylded of late, where, aswell the byſhop accordyng to his
" dygnitie, as alſo the canones, are wel indued. This church
" is well buylded of ſtone and lyme, and of good woorkeman-
" ſhyppe. There are further-more three monaſteries bearyng
" the names of Saynt Dominike, Saynt Frances, and Saynt
" Mary of Mercedes; the whiche are well buylded, although
" not ſo curiouſlye as they of Spayne. There is alſo a very
" good hoſpitall for the ayde and ſuccour of pore people,
" whiche was founded by Michaell Paſſamont, threaſurer to
" your majeſtie. To conclude, this citie frō day to day in-
" creaſeth in welth and good order, as wel for that the ſayde
" admyrall and viceroy, with the lorde chauncelour and coun-
" ſayle appoynted there by your majeſtie, have theyr conti-
" nuall abydynge here, as alſo that the rycheſt men of the
" ilande reſort hyther, for thyre moſte commodious habitation
" and trade of ſuch merchaundies as are eyther brought owt of
" Spayne,

CHAP. XII.

" Spayne, or ſent thyther from this iland, which nowe ſo " abundeth in many thynges, that it ſerveth Spayne with " many commodities, as it were with uſury requityng ſuch " benefites as it fyrſt receaved from thenſe *(b)*.

It is probable that St. Domingo had now attained the ſummit of its proſperity. About ſixty years afterwards (1ſt January 1586) it was attacked by Sir Francis Drake; a narrative of whoſe expedition, by an eye-witneſs, is preſerved in Hakluyt's Collection; from which it appears, that it was, even then, a city of great extent and magnificence; and it is ſhocking to relate, that, after a month's poſſeſſion, Drake thought himſelf authorized, by the laws of war, to deſtroy it by fire. " We ſpent the early part of the mornings (ſays the hiſtorian of the voyage) in fireing the outmoſt houſes; but they being built very magnificently of ſtone, with high loftes, gave us no ſmall travell to ruin them. And albeit, for divers dayes together, we ordeined ech morning by day-break, until the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burn the ſaid houſes, whilſt the ſouldiers, in a like proportion, ſtood forth for their guard; yet did we not, or could not, in this time, conſume ſo much as one third part of the towne; and ſo in the end, wearied with firing, we were contented to accept of five and twenty thouſand ducats, of five ſhillings and ſixpence the peece, for the ranſome of the reſt of the towne *(c)*."

Of

(b) From a tranſlation by Richard Eden, printed, London 1555, in black letter.

(c) The following anecdote, related by the ſame author, is too ſtriking to be overlooked. I ſhall quote his own words: During the ſtay of the Engliſh army in

CHAP. XII.

Of the preſent condition of this ancient city, the number of its inhabitants, and the commerce which they ſupport, I can obtain no account on which I can depend. That it hath been long in its decline, I have no doubt; but that it is wholly depopulated and in ruins, as Raynal aſſerts, I do not believe. The cathedral and other publick buildings are ſtill in being, and were lately the reſidence of a conſiderable body of clergy and lawyers. The city continued alſo, while under the Spaniſh government, the dioceſe of an archbiſhop, to whom, it is ſaid, the biſhops of St. Jago in Cuba, Venezuela in New Spain, and St. John's in Porto Rico, were ſuffragans. Theſe circumſtances, added to the ſecurity, commodiouſneſs, and extent of the port or harbour, containing throughout not leſs than

in the city, "it chanced that the general ſent on a meſſage to the Spaniſh governor, a negro boy with a flag of white, ſignifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie manner to do there, when they approch to ſpeak to us; which boy unhappily was firſt met withall by ſome of thoſe who had been belonging as officers for the king in the Spaniſh galley, which, with the towne, was lately fallen into our hands, who, without all order or reaſon, and contrary to that good uſage wherewith wee had intertained their meſſengers, furiouſly ſtrooke the poor boy thorow the body, with which wound the boy returned to the general, and, after he had declared the manner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his preſence; wherewith the generall being greatly paſſion'd, commanded—the provoſt martiall to cauſe a couple of friers, then priſoners, to be carried to the ſame place where the boy was ſtroken, and there preſently to be hanged; diſpatching, at the ſame inſtant, another poor priſoner, with the reaſon wherefore this execution was done, and with this further meſſage, that untill the party who had thus murdered the general's meſſenger, were delivered into our hands to receive condigne puniſhment, there ſhould no day paſſe wherein there ſhould not two priſoners be hanged, until they were all conſumed which were in our hands. Whereupon the day following, hee that had been captaine of the king's galley, brought the offender to the towne's end, offering to deliver him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there, in our ſight, to performe the execution themſelves, which was done accordingly."

three

CHAP. XII.

three fathoms of water, and protected by a bar over which the largeſt veſſels may paſs with ſafety, have hitherto ſaved St. Domingo from entire decay, and may poſſibly continue to ſave it. With this very defective information the reader muſt be content. As little ſeems to be known concerning the ſtate of agriculture in the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in this iſland, as of their capital and commerce. A few planters are ſaid to cultivate cacao, tobacco, and ſugar, for their own expenditure; and, perhaps ſome ſmall quantities of each are ſtill exported for conſumption in Spain. The chief article of exportation, however, continues to be, what it always has been ſince the mines were abandoned, *the hides of horned cattle*; which have multiplied to ſuch a degree, that the proprietors are ſaid to reckon them by thouſands; and vaſt numbers (as I believe I have elſewhere obſerved) are annually ſlaughtered ſolely for the ſkins †.

It ſeems therefore extremely probable, that the cultivation of the earth is almoſt entirely neglected throughout the whole of the Spaniſh dominion in this iſland; and that ſome of the fineſt tracts of land in the world, once the paradiſe of a ſimple and innocent people, are now abandoned to the beaſts of the field, and the vultures which hover round them *(d)*.

Of this deſcription, probably, is the country already mentioned, called Los Llanos, which ſtretches eaſtward

† It is ſaid that a Company was formed at Barcelona in 1757, with excluſive privileges, for the re-eſtabliſhment of agriculture and commerce in the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo: I know not with what ſucceſs.

(d) The *Gallinazo*, or American vulture, a very ravenous and filthy bird that feeds on carrion. Theſe birds abound in St. Domingo, and devour the carcaſſes of the cattle as ſoon as the ſkins are ſtripped off by the hunters.

from

from the capital upwards of fourſcore Britiſh miles in length, by twenty or twenty-five in width; and which, abounding in rivers throughout, may be ſuppoſed adapted for the growth of every tropical production in the greateſt perfection: It ſeems capable alſo of being artificially flooded in dry weather.

Next to Los Llanos in magnitude, but ſuperior, it is believed, in native fertility, is the noble valley to the north, called *Vega Real*; through the middle of which flows the river *Yuna*, for the ſpace of fifty miles, and diſembogues in Samana bay to the eaſt. Perhaps it were no exaggeration to ſay, that this and the former diſtricts are alone capable of producing more ſugar, and other valuable commodities, than all the Britiſh Weſt Indies put together.

These plains, however, though in contiguity the largeſt, are not the only parts of the country on which nature has beſtowed extraordinary fertility. Glades abundantly rich, eaſy of acceſs, and obvious to cultivation, are every where found even in the boſom of the mountains; while the mountains themſelves contribute to fertilize the vallies which they encircle.

In beholding the gifts of a bountiful Creator, thus lying uſeleſs and unimproved, and remembering at what an expence of human blood, and by what inexpiable guilt the Spaniſh nation obtained the poſſeſſion of theſe countries from the rightful poſſeſſors, it is ſcarce poſſible to abſtain from very gloomy and

CHAP. XII.

deſponding reflections, or to ſuppreſs the exclamation, *how inſcrutable are the ways of Divine Providence!*

THUS ſcanty and unintereſting is the beſt account I have to give of the territory itſelf; nor is my information much more perfect concerning the number and condition of the people by whom it is at preſent inhabited. The earlieſt detachments from Old Spain were undoubtedly numerous. Herrera, an accurate and well-informed hiſtorian, reckons that there were, at one period, no leſs than 14,000 Caſtillians in Hiſpaniola. Such was the renown of its riches, that men of all ranks and conditions reſorted thither, in the fond expectation of ſharing in the golden harveſt. Its mines, indeed, were very productive. Robertſon relates, that they continued for many years to yield a revenue of 460,000 peſos *(e)*. In contraſting this fact, with an anecdote which I have elſewhere † recorded, that the inhabitants, at the time of Drake's invaſion, were ſo wretchedly poor, as to be compelled to uſe, in barter among themſelves, *pieces of leather* as a ſubſtitute for money, we are furniſhed with a ſtriking proof, that the true way to acquire riches, is not by digging into the bowels, but by improving the ſurface, of the earth. Not having any manufactures, nor the productions of agriculture, to offer in exchange for the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, all their gold had ſoon found its way to Europe; and when the mines became exhauſted, their

(e) Upwards of £. 100,000 ſterling.

† Hiſtory of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, vol. i.

penury

penury was extreme; and ſloth, depopulation, and degeneracy, were its neceſſary conſequences *(f)*. CHAP. XII.

THE introduction into this iſland of negroes from Africa, of which I have elſewhere traced the origin and cauſe *(g)*, took place at an early period. This reſource did not, however, greatly contribute to augment the population of the colony; for ſuch of the whites as removed to the continent, in ſearch of richer mines and better fortune, commonly took their negroes with them; and the ſmall pox, a few years afterwards, deſtroyed prodigious numbers of others. In 1717, the whole number of inhabitants under the Spaniſh dominion, of all ages and conditions, enſlaved and free, were no more than 18,410, and ſince that time, I conceive, they have rather diminiſhed than increaſed. Of pure whites (in contradiſtinction to the people of mixed blood) the number is undoubtedly very inconſiderable; perhaps not 3,000 in the whole.

(f) The groſs ignorance of conſidering gold and ſilver as *real* inſtead of *artificial* wealth, and the folly of neglecting agriculture for the ſake of exploring mines, have been well expoſed by Abbé Raynal; who compares the conduct of the Spaniards in this reſpect, to that of the dog in the fable, dropping the piece of meat which he had in his mouth, to catch at the ſhadow of it in the water.

(g) Hiſt. of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, Book iv. c. 2. A curious circumſtance was, however, omitted. When the Portugueſe firſt began the traffick in negroes, application was made to the Pope to ſanctify the trade by a bull, which his Holineſs iſſued accordingly. In conſequence of this permiſſion and authority, a very conſiderable ſlave-market was eſtabliſhed at Liſbon, inſomuch, that about the year 1539, from 10 to 12,000 negroes were ſold there annually.

CHAP. XII.

THE hereditary and unextinguiſhable animoſity between the Spaniſh and French planters has already been noticed. It is probable, however, that the knowledge of this circumſtance created greater reliance on the co-operation of the Spaniards with the Britiſh army than was juſtified by ſubſequent events. At the earneſt and repeated ſolicitations of Lieutenant Colonel Briſbane, in 1794, orders were indeed tranſmitted from the city of St. Domingo to the Commandant at Verettes, Don Franciſco de Villa Neuva, to join the Engliſh with the militia of that part of the country; the Britiſh garriſon at St. Marc undertaking to ſupply them with proviſions and ammunition: but theſe orders were ill obeyed. Not more than three hundred men were brought into the field, and even thoſe were far from being hearty in the common cauſe. The French loyaliſts appeared in greater numbers in the neighbourhood of St. Marc than in any other diſtrict; and the Spaniards deteſted the French coloniſts of all deſcriptions. It was evident, at the ſame time, that they were almoſt equally jealous of the Engliſh; betraying manifeſt ſymptoms of diſcontent and envy, at beholding them in poſſeſſion of St. Marc, and the fertile plains in its vicinage. They proceeded, however, and took the town and harbour of Gonaive; but their ſubſequent conduct manifeſted the baſeſt treachery, or the rankeſt cowardice. The town was no ſooner attacked by a ſmall detachment from the revolted negroes, than the Spaniards ſuffered themſelves to be driven out of it, in the moſt unaccountable manner; leaving the French inhabitants to the fury of the ſavages, who maſſacred the whole number (as their

comrades had done at Fort Dauphin) and then reduced the town itſelf to aſhes *(b)*. CHAP. XII.

On the whole, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that a great proportion of the preſent Spaniſh proprietors in St. Domingo are a debaſed and degenerate race; a motley mixture from European, Indian, and African anceſtry; and the obſervation which has been made in another place *(i)*, concerning the Spaniſh inhabitants of Jamaica, at the conqueſt of that iſland in 1655, will

(b) In the northern province of the French colony, the inhabitants of Fort Dauphin, a town ſituated on the Spaniſh borders, having no aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, and being apprehenſive of an attack from the rebel negroes, applied for protection, and delivered up the town, to the Spaniſh government. The Spaniſh commandant, on accepting the conditions required, which were chiefly for perſonal ſafety, iſſued a proclamation, importing, that ſuch of the French planters as would ſeek refuge there, ſhould find ſecurity. Seduced by this proclamation, a conſiderable number repaired thither; when, on Monday the 7th of July 1794, *Jean François*, the negro general, and leader of the revolt in 1791, entered the town with ſome thouſands of armed negroes. He met not the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, either at the advanced poſts, or at the barriers occupied by the Spaniſh troops; the inhabitants keeping their houſes, in the hope of being protected by the commandant. In an inſtant, every part of the city reſounded with the cry of "Long live the king of Spain! Kill all the French; but offer no violence to the Spaniards;" and a general maſſacre of the French commenced, in which no leſs than 771 of them, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were murdered on the ſpot: the Spaniſh ſoldiers ſtanding by, ſpectators of the tragedy. It is thought, however, that if the Spaniards had openly interpoſed, they would have ſhared the fate of the French. It is ſaid that Mont-Calvos, commander of the Spaniſh troops, moved by compaſſion towards ſome French gentlemen of his acquaintance, admitted them into the ranks, dreſſing them in the Spaniſh uniform for their ſecurity; others were ſecretly conveyed to the fort, and ſent off in the night to Monte Chriſti, where they got on board an American veſſel belonging to Salem.

(i) Hiſtory of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, vol. i.

equally

CHAP. XII.

equally apply to theſe. They are neither poliſhed by ſocial intercourſe, nor improved by education; but paſs their days in gloomy languor, enfeebled by ſloth, and depreſſed by poverty. From ſuch men, therefore, great as their antipathy is to the French nation, and however averſe they may be to a change of laws and government, I am afraid that no cordial co-operation with the Britiſh can ever be expected. The beſt families among them, rather than ſubmit to the French dominion, will probably remove to Cuba, or ſeek out new habitations among their countrymen on the neighbouring continent; while thoſe which remain will neceſſarily ſink into the general maſs of coloured people, French and Engliſh; a claſs that, I think, in proceſs of time, will become maſters of the towns and cultivated parts of the iſland on the ſea-coaſt; leaving the interior country to the revolted negroes. Such, probably, will be the fate of this once beautiful and princely colony; and it grieves me to ſay, that the preſent exertions of Great Britain on this blood-ſtained theatre, can anſwer no other end than to haſten the cataſtrophe!

I MIGHT here expatiate on the wonderful diſpenſations of Divine Providence, in raiſing up the enſlaved Africans to avenge the wrongs of the injured aborigines: I might alſo indulge the fond but fallacious idea, that as the negroes of St. Domingo have been eye-witneſſes to the benefits of civilized life among the whites;—have ſeen in what manner, and to what extent, ſocial order, peaceful induſtry, and ſubmiſſion to laws, contribute to individual and general proſperity (advantages which were denied to them in their native country;) ſome ſuperior

rior ſpirits may hereafter riſe up among them, by whoſe encouragement and example they may be taught, in due time, to diſcard the ferocious and ſordid manners and purſuits of ſavage life; to correct their vices, and be led progreſſively on to civilization and gentleneſs, to the knowledge of truth, and the practice of virtue. This picture is ſo pleaſing to the imagination, that every humane and reflecting mind muſt wiſh it may be realized; but I am afraid it is the mere creation of the fancy—"the fabrick of a viſion!" Experience has demonſtrated, that a wild and lawleſs freedom affords no means of improvement, either mental or moral. The Charaibes of St. Vincent, and the Maroon negroes of Jamaica, were originally enſlaved Africans; and *what they now are*, the freed negroes of St. Domingo *will hereafter be*; ſavages in the midſt of ſociety—without peace, ſecurity, agriculture, or property; ignorant of the duties of life, and unacquainted with all the ſoft and endearing relations which render it deſirable; averſe to labour, though frequently periſhing of want; ſuſpicious of each other, and towards the reſt of mankind revengeful and faithleſs, remorſeleſs and bloody-minded; pretending to be free, while groaning beneath the capricious deſpotiſm of their chiefs, and feeling all the miſeries of ſervitude, without the benefits of ſubordination!

If what I have thus—not haſtily, but—deliberately predicted, concerning the fate of this unfortunate country, ſhall be verified by the event, all other reflections muſt yield to the preſſing conſideration how beſt to obviate and defeat the influence which ſo dreadful an example of ſucceſsful revolt and triumphant

CHAP. XII.

phant anarchy may have in our own iſlands. This is a ſubject which will ſoon force itſelf on the moſt ſerious attention of Government; and I am of opinion, that nothing leſs than the co-operation of the Britiſh parliament with the colonial legiſlatures can meet its emergency. On the other hand, if it be admitted that the object is infinitely too important, and the means and reſources of France much too powerful and abundant, to ſuffer a doubt to remain concerning the ultimate accompliſhment of her views, in ſeizing on the whole of this extenſive country: if we can ſuppoſe that (convince at length, by painful experience, of the monſtrous folly of ſuddenly emancipating barbarous men, and placing them at once in all the complicated relations of civil ſociety) ſhe will finally ſucceed in reducing the vaſt body of fugitive negroes to obedience; and in eſtabliſhing ſecurity, ſubordination, and order, under a conſtitution of government ſuited to the actual condition of the various claſſes of the inhabitants:—if ſuch ſhall be her good fortune, it will not require the endowment of prophecy to foretel the reſult. The middling, and who are commonly the moſt induſtrious, claſs of Planters, throughout every iſland in the Weſt Indies, allured by the cheapneſs of the land and the ſuperior fertility of the ſoil, will aſſuredly ſeek out ſettlements in St. Domingo; and a Weſt Indian empire will fix itſelf in this noble iſland, to which, in a few ſhort years, all the tropical poſſeſſions of Europe will be found ſubordinate and tributary. Placed in the centre of Britiſh and Spaniſh America, and ſituated to windward of thoſe territories of either nation which are moſt valuable, while the commerce of both muſt exiſt only by its good pleaſure, all the riches of Mexico will be wholly at its diſpoſal.

Then

CHAP. XII.

Then will the humbled Spaniard lament, when it is too late, the thoughtleſs and improvident ſurrender he has made, and Great Britain find leiſure to reflect how deeply ſhe is herſelf concerned in the conſequences of it. The dilemma is awful, and the final iſſue known only to that omniſcient Power, in whoſe hand is the fate of empires! But whatever the iſſue may be,—in all the varieties of fortune,—in all events and circumſtances, whether proſperous or adverſe,—it infinitely concerns both the people of Great Britain, and the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies,—I cannot repeat it too often,—to derive admonition from the ſtory before us. To Great Britain I would intimate, that if, diſregarding the preſent example, encouragement ſhall continue to be given to the peſtilent doctrines of thoſe hot-brained fanaticks, and deteſtable incendiaries, who, under the vile pretence of philanthropy and zeal for the intereſts of ſuffering humanity, preach up rebellion and murder to the contented and orderly negroes in our own territories, what elſe can be expected, but that the ſame dreadful ſcenes of carnage and deſolation, which we have contemplated in St. Domingo, will be renewed among our countrymen and relations in the Britiſh Weſt Indies? May God Almighty, of his infinite mercy, avert the evil! To the reſident Planters I addreſs myſelf with ſtill greater ſolicitude; and, if it were in my power, would exhort them, "with more than mortal voice," to riſe above the foggy atmoſphere of local prejudices, and, by a generous ſurrender of temporary advantages, do that which the Parliament of Great Britain, in the pride and plenitude of imperial dominion, cannot effect, and ought not to attempt. I call on them, with the ſincerity and the affection of a brother, of them-

CHAP. XII.

ſelves to reſtrain, limit, and finally aboliſh the further introduction of enſlaved men from Africa;—not indeed by meaſures of ſudden violence and injuſtice, diſregarding the many weighty and complicated intereſts which are involved in the iſſue; but by means which, though ſlow and gradual in their operation, will be ſure and certain in their effect. The Colonial Legiſlatures, by their ſituation and local knowledge, are alone competent to this great and glorious taſk: and this example of St. Domingo, and the dictates of ſelf-preſervation like the hand-writing againſt the wall, warn them no longer to delay it! Towards the poor negroes over whom the ſtatutes of Great Britain, the accidents of fortune, and the laws of inheritance, have inveſted them with power, their general conduct for the laſt twenty years (notwithſtanding the foul calumnies with which they have been loaded) may court enquiry and bid defiance to cenſure. A perſeverance in the ſame benevolent ſyſtem, progreſſively leading the objects of it to civilization and mental improvement, preparatory to greater indulgence, is all that humanity can require; for it is all that prudence can dictate. Thus will the Planters prepare a ſhield of defence againſt their enemies, and ſecure to themſelves that ſerenity and elevation of mind, which ariſe from an approving conſcience; producing aſſurance in hope, and conſolation in adverſity. Their perſecutors and ſlanderers in the meantime will be diſregarded or forgotten; for calumny, though a great is a temporary evil, but truth and juſtice will prove triumphant and eternal!

TABLEAU

Du Commerce et des Finances de la partie Françoise de ST. DOMINGUE

1791.

☞ The firſt Four of the following TABLES were drawn up by order of the Legiſlative Aſſembly of FRANCE, which met the 1ſt of October 1791, and ſeem to have been framed in the view of aſcertaining the actual ſtate of the Colony, and its Commerce, immediately before the breaking out of the rebellion of the Negroes in the Month of Auguſt of that Year. The totals will be found to differ, in ſome of the particulars, from the ſtatement which has been given in the preceding pages. The difference ariſes partly from the actual change of circumſtances, in the courſe of two years which intervened between the periods when each ſtatement was made up, and partly, I am afraid, from errors and omiſſions of my own.

No. I.

Etat Général des Cultures et des Manufactures de la Partie Françoiſe de S^t Domingue.

1791.

Chefs Lieux ou Jurisdictions.	Quartiers ou Paroisses.	Sucreries. En blanc.	Sucreries. En brut.	Caféteries.	Cotonneries.	Indigoteries.	Tanneries.	Guildiveries.	Cacaoteries.	Fours a Chaux.	Briqueries et Poteries.	Nombre de Nègres.
Partie du Nord. — Le Cap	Le Cap et dépendances	1	—	2	—	—	1	3	—	2	1	21,613
	La petite Ance et la plaine du Nord	43	7	37	1	5	2	3	—	4	2	11,122
	L'acul, Limonade et S^te Suzanne	52	4	157	3	6	—	9	—	1	1	19,876
	Morin et la Grande Rivière	35	1	255	2	1	—	5	5	7	—	18,554
	Le Dondon et Marmelade	—	—	216	1	—	—	1	1	32	2	17,376
	A\ Limbé et Port Margot	22	3	272	5	11	—	7	1	2	2	15,978
	Plaiſance et le Borgne	—	—	324	2	4	—	—	—	3	5	15,018
Partie du Nord. — Le Fort Dauphin	Le Fort Dauphin	29	7	71	2	10	—	4	—	3	8	10,004
	Ouanaminthe et Vallière	25	2	151	—	2	—	4	—	—	3	9,987
	Le Terrier rouge et le trou	56	1	123	1	37	—	5	—	4	1	15,476
Partie du Nord. — Le Port de Paix	Le Port de Paix le petit S^t Louis, Jean Rabel et le gros Morne	6	2	218	9	369	—	4	18	26	4	29,540
Partie du Nord. — Le Mole	Le Mole et Bombarde	—	—	31	14	15	—	—	—	—	—	3,183
Partie de l'Oueſt. — Port au Prince	Port au Prince et la Croix des Bouquets	65	75	151	22	15	—	29	1	20	1	42,848
	L'Arcahaye	11	36	62	24	48	—	14	—	23	5	18,553
	Mirebalais	3	—	27	19	322	—	—	2	5	—	10,902
Partie de l'Oueſt. — Léogane	Léogane	27	39	58	18	78	—	25	1	14	1	14,896
Partie de l'Oueſt. — S^t Marc	S^t Marc, la petite Rivière, Les Verettes et les Gonaives	22	21	298	315	1,184	—	10	1	71	12	67,216
Partie de l'Oueſt. — Le petit Goave	Le petit Goave, le grand Goave, et le fonds des Négres	11	16	52	25	31	—	11	2	9	—	18,829
	L'Anſe a Veau et le petit trou	6	11	11	7	185	—	7	1	9	2	13,229
Partie de l'Oueſt. — Jérémie	Jérémie et le Cap Dame Marie	3	5	105	30	44	—	6	25	14	—	20,774
Partie du Sud. — Les Cayes	Les Cayes et Torbeck	24	86	69	76	175	—	18	2	32	8	30,937
Partie du Sud. — Le Cap Tiburon	Le Cap Tiburon et les Coteaux	1	1	24	12	169	—	—	4	7	1	8,153
Partie du Sud. — S^t Louis	S^t Louis, Cavaillon et Aquin	9	23	39	28	157	—	8	2	18	1	18,785
Partie du Sud. — Jacmel	Jacmel, les Cayes, et Baynel	—	1	57	89	129	—	—	3	7	1	21,152
Total	51 Paroiſſes	451	341	2,810	705	3,097	3	173	69	313	61	455,000

No. II.

Etat des Denrées de St. Domingue exportées en France depuis le 1er Janvier 1791 au 31 Décre inclusivement.

Départemens.	Sucre.		Café.	Coton.	Indigo.	Cuirs.		Sirop.	Tafia.
	Blanc.	Brut.				en Poil.	Tannés.		
	Livres.	Livres.	Livres.	Livres.	Livres.	Banettes.	Côtes.	Boucauts.	Barique.
Partie du Nord.									
Le Cap	43,864,552	1,517,489	29,367,382	—	195,099	2,006	6,975	10,654	
Le Fort Dauphin	8,609,258	1,639,900	2,321,610	1,200	2,005	1,134	160	2,731	
Le Port de Paix	473,800	824,500	1,829,754	38,752	61,472	120	—	272	25
Le Mole	22,500	105,680	294,550	29,236	6,294	31	—	84	6
Partie de l'Oueſt.									
Le Port au Prince	7,792,219	53,648,923	14,584,023	1,370,021	176,918	1,601	752	8,350	36
Léogane	1,492,983	7,688,537	1,786,484	154,084	12,520	112	—	95	45
Saint Marc	3,244,673	6,993,966	5,521,237	3,008,163	357,530	—	—	73	49
Le Petit Goave	218,866	855,237	1,395,690	84,865	320	—	—	206	6
Jérémie	19,804	476,445	4,453,331	189,194	1,075	100	—		
Partie du Sud.									
Les Cayes	4,375,627	18,984,425	1,843,403	720,770	105,456	67	—	6,938	136
Le Cap Tiburon	63,150	278,500	305,740	34,325	1,954	—	—	99	
St Louis	2,000	9,600	90,706	42,497	2,064				
Jacmel	48,266	67,910	4,357,270	613,019	7,309	15			
Total	70,227,708	93,177,512	68,151,180	6,286,126	930,016	5,186	7,887	29,502	303

Valeur

No. II *continued.*

Valeur commune des Exportations et des Droits perçus dans la Colonie sur toutes les Denrées.

Indication de la nature des Denrées.	Quotité en nature.	Eſtimation en raiſon du prix Commun.			Du 1er Janvier 1791 au 31 X^bre de la même année.		Vendus en France.
					Valeur Commune.	Droits perçus.	
Sucre { Blanc ou terré	70,227,708	Livres - à	—	12	67,670,781	2,528,197	65,142,584
Sucre { Brut	93,177,512	Livres - à	—	6	49,941,567	1,677,195	48,264,372
Café	68,151,180	Livres - à	—	16	51,890,748	1,226,720	50,664,028
Coton	6,286,126	Livres - à	2	—	17,572,252	785,766	16,786,486
Indigo	930,016	Livres - à	7	10	10,875,120	465,008	10,410,112
Cacao	150 000	Livres - à	—	16	120,000	—	120,000
Sirop	29,502	Boucauts - à	66	—	1,947,132	221,275	1,725,857
Tafia	303	Bariques - à	72	—	21,816	1,821	19,995
Cuirs Tannés	7,887	Cotés - à	10	—	78,870	10,377	68,493
Cuirs en poil	5,186	Banettes - à	18	—	93,348	7,807	85,541
Caret (tortoiſe ſhell)	5,000	Livres - à	10	—	50,000	—	50,000
Gayac, Acajou, et Campêche	1,500,000	Livres - à	Eſtimés		40,000	—	40,000
Total de la Valeur commune de toutes les Denrées					200,301,634	6,924,166	193,377,468

Obſervation eſſentielle.

Toutes les ſommes dont il eſt queſtion dans ce tableau ſont Argent des Colonies. Le change y eſt à 33 ½, et la Livre Tournois comptée pour une livre dix ſous.

1er Exemple.

Le montant des Exportations s'éleve Argent des Colonies à la ſomme de	200,301,634
Réduite Argent de France à	133,534,423
Différence ſur cet Article de	66,767,211

2me Exemple.

La totalité des denrées exportées, et vendues en France montant enſemble à la ſomme de	193,377,468
Reduite en Livres Tournois à	128,918,312
Difference ſur cet Article de	64,459,156

On obtiendra le même réſultat article par article ayant l'attention de réduire le tiers ſur chaque ſomme.

No. III.

Apperçu des Richeſſes territoriales des habitations en grande Culture de la Partie Françoiſe de St. Domingue.

Indication de la Nature des Capitaux.	Nombre.	Eſtimation particulière de chaque Objet en raiſon du prix moyen.	Evaluation des Capitaux.		Totalité de la Valeur Générale.
			En Terres, Bâtimens, et Plantations.	En Négres et animaux employés à l'exploitation.	
Sucreries { en Blanc	451	à - 230,000	103,730,000	—	103,730,000
Sucreries { en Brut	341	à - 180,000	61,380,000	—	61,380,000
Cafeteries	2,810	à - 20,000	56,200,000	—	56,200,000
Cotonneries	705	à - 30,000	21,150,000	—	21,150,000
Indigoteries	3,097	à - 30,000	92,910,000	—	92,910,000
Guildiveries	173	à - 5,000	865,000	—	865,000
Cacaotières	69	à - 4,000	275,000	—	275,000
Tanneries	3	à - 160,000	480,000	—	480,000
Fours à Chaux, Briqueries et Poteries	374	à - 15,000	5,510,000	—	5,510,000
Nègres anciens et nouveaux, grands et petits	455,000	à - 2,500		1,137,500,000	1,137,500,000
Chevaux et Mulets	16,000	à - - 400		6,400,000	6,400,000
Bêtes à cornes	12,000	à - - 120		1,440,000	1,440,000
Total des Richeſſes employées à la Culture			342,500,000	1,145,340,000	1,487,840,000

No. IV.

RECETTES ET DEPENSES, &c.

R E C E T T E S.

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.			Sommes.
Caiſſe de la Marine.			
1. Reſtant en Caiſſe au 31 Décembre 1790		935,160	
2. Droits perçus ſur les Denrées exportées de la Colonie en France pendant l'anneé 1789	6,924,166		
A déduire les appointemens des Réceveurs de l'Octroi et frais de Bureaux	34,200	6,889,966	
3. Impoſition pour la capitation des Eſclaves	581,035		
A déduire les remiſes et modérations en faveur des Contribuables, cy	25,286	555,749	
			10,838,348
4. Droits de 2 ½ pour C^t. ſur les loyers des maiſons		376,143	
5. Reçu de divers Débiteurs au Roi		229,403	
6. Loyers des Halles et maiſons au profit de Sa Majeſté		30,453	
7. Objets vendus dans les magazins des divers Départements		139,324	
8. Reçu de divers pour journées employées à l'Hôpital		13,295	
9. Rembourſemens des avances faites à divers		149,930	
10. Dépôt à charge de rembourſemens		465,820	
11. Montant des Lettres de change tirées ſur les Tréſoriers et Munitionnaires Généraux		1,053,100	
Caiſſe Générale.			
1. Reſtant en Caiſſe au 31 Décembre 1790		159,886	
2. Réçu de divers Comptables en exerciſe et à valoir ſur les débits pendant les années 1787, 1788, et 1789		178,756	
3. Révenu de la ferme du bac du Cap.		87,500	
4. Révenu de la ferme des Poſtes		161,847	
5. Réçu des anciens Comptables, Fermiers, &c.		150,716	1,171,292
6. Rembourſement d'un Prêt fait à la Caiſſe Municipale		30,000	
7. Rembourſement de celui fait à la Caiſſe de la Marine		49,042	
8. Loyer de la Salle de Spectacle au Port au Prince		2,000	
9. Rembourſemens par divers Réceveurs des Droits domaniaux		30,400	
10. Réçu des Curateurs aux Succeſſions vacantes		321,143	

No. IV. *continued.*

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caiſſe des Libertés.		
1. Reſtant en Caiſſe au 31 Décembre 1790 - - -	51,642	
2. Il a eté verſé dans cette Caiſſe pour l'affranchiſſement de 297 Eſclaves pendant l'année 1790 - - - -	547,892	654,906
3. Rembourſemens de divers Débiteurs à cette Caiſſe - -	33,830	
4. A compte ſur le produit de la vente de divers Comeſtibles -	21,542	
Caiſſe des Droits Domaniaux.		
1. Montant des Amandes - - - - -	143,010	
2. Négres épaves vendus au profit du Roi - - -	152,634	
3. Succeſſions à titre d'Aubaines, Bâtardiſes, &c. - -	318,444	780,300
4. Confiſcations - - - - -	51,343	
5. Droits de 2 pour C^t. ſur le montant des ventes judiciaires -	114,869	
Caiſſe de l'Entrepôt.		
1. Droit d'un pour C^t. impoſé ſur les marchandiſes qui ſont importées et exportées par le Commerce étranger - -	112,397	
2. Droit de 3^li Tournois par quintal ſur le bœuf ſalé introduit dans la Colonie par le Commerce étranger - -	42,378	459,078
3. Droits additionels impoſés par arrêt du Conſeil de l'année 1786 et 1787 - - - - -	304,303	
Caiſſe des Conſignations.		
1. Reſtant en Caiſſe au 31 Décembre 1790 - - -	82,500	
2. Conſigné par divers; dans la caiſſe du Tréſorier principal des Colonies pendant le cours de l'année 1789, pour la ſureté de 68 Eſclaves embarqués pour France - - -	102,000	184,500
Invalides et fonds d'Armemens.		
1. Recettes faites pendant l'année 1790 au profit des Invalides de la Marine - - - - -	153,620	
2. Montant des gages acquis aux équipages dont les bâtimens ont été deſarmés dans la Colonie pendant les 9 derniers mois de 1789, et pendant l'année 1790 - - -	430,972	584,592
Total de la Recette - -	14,673,014	14,673,014

DEPENSES.

No. IV. *continued.*

DEPENSES.

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caiſſe de la Marine.		
1. Traitemens et Appointemens des Officiers de l'Etat Major général, et particuliers des Places	580,000 liv.	
2. Officiers de l'Adminiſtration	670,000	
3. Conſeils et Juriſdictions	710,000	
4. Officiers de Santé	183,547	
5. Appointemens et Soldes des Troupes	1,206,003	
6. Subſiſtences et Fournitures rélatives aux Troupes	293,656	
7. Journées d'Hôpital	606,478	
8. Fortifications et entretiens des Bâtimens publics	917,560	
9. Achâts des matériaux néceſſaires à la conſtruction des Edifices publics	851,193	
10. Entretiens des Bâtimens de Mer ſur l'iſle de la Gonave	90,935	9,448,168
11. Aux Entrepreneurs des Hôpitaux	196,000	
12. A divers pour fournitures de Riz et de Biſcuit	120,000	
13. Dépenſes pour les chemins de communication	586,102	
14. A divers Entrepreneurs de maçonnerie, charpente, &c.	235,061	
15. Frais de voyages et avaries de mer.	142,064	
16. Rembourſemens à la Caiſſe générale des Invalides	511,520	
17. A divers pour loyers des maiſons, magaſins, &c.	233,679	
18. Dépenſe faite par les vaiſſeaux de S. M. en Station dans la Colonie	1,204,650	
19. Frais de tranſports, journées d'Ouvriers, &c.	119,720	
Caiſſe Générale.		
1. Traitemens et gages aſſignés ſur cette Caiſſe	202,775	
2. A divers Entrepreneurs des Canaux, Fontaines, &c.	229,403	
3. Payé aux Héritiers et Créanciers des Succeſſions vacantes	192,794	1,131,656
4. Payé à la décharge de la Caiſſe des Biens domaniaux	397,109	
5. Indemnités et gratifications à divers	109,575	
Caiſſe des Libertés.		
1. Penſions aux Peres et Meres de 10 à 12 enfans	71,765	
2. Dépenſe pour l'achévement des remblais du quay du Roi	72,731	
3. Travaux rélatifs au chemin de Jacmel	86,621	
4. Jardin du Roi au Port au Prince et Plantes d'Aſie	50,912	
5. Travaux faits au Cap	70,464	651,354
6. Entretiens et conſtructions des Fontaines publiques	101,896	
7. Abrévoirs et Lavoirs publics	65,058	
8. A divers pour tranſports des comeſtibles	90,951	
9. Dons et gratifications aſſignés ſur cette Caiſſe	40,956	

No. IV. *continued.*

DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		Sommes.
Caiſſe des Droits domaniaux.		
1. Traitemens et gages des employés, rembourſemens des amandes, taxations de Témoins, et frais de voyages - -	482,550	
2. Réclamation des Epaves vendus au profit du Roi - -	46,521	
3. Frais de juſtice applicables au produit des Succeſſions vacantes -	160,848	702,380
4. Payé aux dénonciateurs, ſur le produit des confiſcations pour fait de Commerce interlope - - - -	12,461	
Caiſſe de l'Entrepôt.		
1. Traitemens des Directeurs, Receveurs et Employés des Bureaux -	112,397	
2. Rembourſemens à divers pour les marchandiſes ré-exportées -	2,028	
3. Verſé dans la Caiſſe de la Marine à titre de Dépôt - -	344,653	459,070
Caiſſe des Conſignations.		
1. Rembourſemens à divers conſignataires pour le rétour dans la Colonie de 53 Eſclaves embarqués pour la France - -	79,500	
2. Frais rélatifs à cette comptabilité - - - -	1,500	81,000
Invalides et Fonds d'Armemens.		
1. Montant des remiſes à faire à la Caiſſe Générale des Invalides -	153,620	
2. Remiſes faites dans les differents Ports pour les gages acquis aux équipages pour les Déſarmemens - - -	430,972	584,592
Montant des Fonds non conſommés au 31 Décembre 1791.		
Par la Caiſſe de la Marine - - - -	1,493,674	
Par la Caiſſe Générale - - - - -	39,634	
Par la Caiſſe des Libertés - - - -	3,659	1,614,886
Par la Caiſſe des Droits domaniaux - - -	77,919	
Somme pareille à la Recette - - - -		
	14,673,014	14,673,014

Rélévé

No. IV. *continued.*

Rélévé Général des Dettes actives et paſſives de St. Domingue au 31 X^b^e 1791.

Dettes actives en faveur des diverſes Caiſſes.

Indication de la nature des Créances.	Montant de la Créance publique.	Recouvremens faits en 1789.	Recouvremens faits en 1790.	Sommes dues en 1791.
1. Sommes dues à la Caiſſe de la Marine par promeſſes, obligations, &c.	6,576,838	633,221	229,403	5,714,214
2. Sommes dues par divers Contribuables	2,514,465	483,701	376,143	1,654,621
3. Avances faites par la Colonie en faveur des Troupes et des Eſcadres alliées	3,385,917	3,182,804	—	203,113
4. Débits de comptes ou arrerages des Fermes	1,471,511	546,433	103,618	821,460
5. Sommes dues par divers particuliers	978,299	101,579	73,999	802,721
Total de la Créance publique de la Colonie	14,927,030	4,947,738	783,163	9,196,129

Dettes paſſives à la charge de diverſes Caiſſes.

Indication de la nature des Dettes.	Montant de la Dette publique.	Payements faits en 1789.	Payements faits en 1790.	Sommes à payer en 1791.
1. Il eſt du à l'Entrepreneur des Travaux du Roi dans la Partie du Nord	3,141,265	1,446,814	334,451	1,360,000
2. Il eſt du à divers Fourniſſeurs, Entrepreneurs, Propriétaires et autres, tant pour Soldes d'entrepriſes, que pour avances par eux faites dans la partie de l'Oueſt	1,140,530	1,070,072	70,458	
3. Il eſt du à divers Entrepreneurs, Fourniſſeurs, &c. dans la Partie du Sud	543,220	533,889	7,395	1,936
4. Il eſt du aux Etats Majors des divers Bâtimens du Roi	117,401	88,341	29,060	
Total de la Dette publique de la Colonie	4,942,416	3,139,116	441,364	1,361,936

ADDITIONAL TABLES, containing Information not comprehended in the preceding; collected by the Author when at Cape François.

No. V.

TRADE of the French Part of St. Domingo with Old France.

Imports for the Year 1788.

Quantity.	Nature of Goods.	Amount in Hiſpaniola Currency.
		Liv.
186,759	Barrels of Flour, — —	12,271,247
1,366	Quintals of Biſcuit, — —	38,684
3,309	Ditto - - Cheeſe, — —	217,450
2,044	Ditto - - Wax Candles, —	602,010
27,154	Ditto - - Soap, — —	1,589,985
16,896	Ditto - - Tallow Candles, —	1,479,510
20,762	Ditto - - Oil, — —	1,973,750
1,359	Ditto - - Tallow, — —	55,770
121,587	Caſks of Wine, — —	13,610,960
7,020	Caſes of D°, — —	584,770
5,732	Caſks of Beer, — —	328,175
6,174	Hampers of Beer, — —	157,380
10,375	Caſes of Cordials, — —	340,070
6,937	Ankers of Brandy, — —	140,238
2,284	Ditto of Vinegar, — —	23,784
19,457	Baſkets of Aniſeed Liquor, —	254,398
5,999	Quintals of Vegetables, —	322,130
14,613	Caſes of preſerved Fruit, —	320,477
2,486	Quintals of Cod Fiſh, — —	85,607
1,308	Ditto - - Salt Fiſh, — —	26,700
17,219	Ditto - - Butter, — —	1,650,150
24,261	Ditto - - Salt Beef, —	998,300
14,732	Ditto - - Salt Pork, —	1,101,395
4,351	Ditto - - Ditto, — —	376,560
1,627	Ditto - - Hams, — —	177,340
	Dry Goods, *viz.* Linens, Woollens, Silks, Cottons, and Manufactures of all kinds, — —	39,008,600
	Sundry other Articles, valued at -	8,685,600
	Amount of all the Goods imported	86,414,040

Theſe

No. V. *continued.*

These Importations were made in 580 Veſſels, meaſuring together 189,679 Tons, or by Average 325 ½ Tons each Veſſel; *viz.*

224	from Bourdeaux.	3	from Harfleur.
129	from Nantes.	2	from Cherbourg.
90	from Marſeilles.	2	from Croiſic.
80	from Havre de Grace.	1	from Dieppe.
19	from Dunkirk.	1	from Rouen.
11	from St. Malo.	1	from Granville.
10	from Bayonne.	1	from Cette.
5	from La Rochelle.	1	from Rhedon.

Add to the 580 Veſſels from France, 98 from the Coaſt of Africa, and the French Part of Hiſpaniola will be found to have employed 678 Veſſels belonging to France in the year 1788.

No. VI.

Foreign TRADE in 1788 (excluſive of the Spaniſh.)

Imported by Foreigners (Spaniards excepted) to the Amount of	6,821,707 Livres.
Exported by the ſame	4,409,922
Difference	2,411,785

N. B. This Trade employed 763 ſmall Veſſels, meaſuring 55,745 Tons. The Average is 73 Tons each. Veſſels from North America (American built) are comprehended in it; but there were alſo employed in the North American Trade 45 French Veſſels, meaſuring 3,475 Tons (the Average 77 Tons each), which exported to North America Colonial Products, Value 525,571 Livres. And imported in return Goods to the Amount of 465,081

Difference	60,490

Spaniſh

No. VI. *continued.*

Spaniſh TRADE in 1788.

259 Spaniſh Veſſels, meaſuring 15,417 Tons, or 59 Tons each, imported to the Amount of (chiefly Bullion) -	9,717,113
And exported Negro Slaves, and Goods, chiefly European Manufactures, to the Amount of -	5,587,515
Difference - - -	4,129,598

N. B. This is excluſive of the inland Trade with the Spaniards, of which there is no Account.

No. VII.

AFRICAN TRADE.

NEGROES imported into the French Part of HISPANIOLA, in 1788.

Ports of Importation.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Amount.	Num. of Veſſels.
Port au Prince	4,732	2,256	764	541	8,293	24
St. Marc - -	1,665	645	230	60	2,600	8
Léogane - -	1,652	798	469	327	3,246	9
Jérémie - -	88	75	23	18	204	1
Cayes - -	1,624	872	1,245	849	4,590	19
Cape François	5,913	2,394	1,514	752	10,573	37
	15,674	7,040	4,245	2,547	29,506	98

In 1787, 30,839 Negroes were imported into the French Part of St. Domingo.

The 29,506 Negroes imported in 1788, were ſold for 61,936,190 Livres (Hiſpaniola Currency) which on an average is 2,099 liv. 2s. each, being about £. 60. ſterling.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAP. I. p. 11.

CHAP. I. p. 11.

THIS applies equally to all the European Colonies in America, and accordingly the actual condition of the Negroes in all thoſe colonies, to whatever nation they belong, is, I believe, nearly the ſame, &c.

THIS is meant, however, rather as a *general* obſervation, than a preciſe and accurate ſtatement applicable to all caſes. *Habit* alone has ſo great an influence in national manners, as on ſome occaſions to counteract the plaineſt dictates of ſelf-intereſt. The Dutch, for inſtance, are, as I have heard, *habitually* a cruel and unfeeling people. The ſtate of ſlavery, therefore, in Surinam, differs probably, in many reſpects, from the ſame condition of life both in the Britiſh and Spaniſh Weſt Indies. Among the Spaniards the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the Romiſh Church co-operate with the ſlothful diſpoſition of the white inhabitants, to produce a great relaxation of diſcipline. On the other hand, the Dutch diſregard all religious feſtivals, and abhor idleneſs. Theſe caſes, however, are the oppoſite extremes.

CHAP. II. p. 16.

Chap. II. p. 16.

The Society in France called Amis des Noirs, *was, I believe, originally formed on the model of a ſimilar Aſſociation in London, &c.*

Since the foregoing ſheets were printed, I have met with a work publiſhed this preſent year (1796) at Paris, entitled, *Reflexions ſur la Colonie de St. Domingue*; the following paſſage from which is given, as a ſtriking illuſtration of the foregoing obſervation: ſpeaking of the diſcuſſions which aroſe in the Britiſh Parliament about the year 1789, concerning the Slave Trade, the author continues thus: Les idées Anglaiſes furent un brandon lancé au milieu de matiéres combuſtibles, et elles furent accueillies en France avec autant de fureur qu'on en mettait précédemment à adopter ſes ridicules et la forme de ſes vêtemens. Toute raiſon de convenance et d'intérêt national fut foulée aux pieds; on ſe précipita dans le piége groſſier tendu à l'ignorance et à la preſomption, et l'on ne parut plus animé que par la crainte d'être précédé par ſes rivaux dans ce nouveau champ de gloire. Soit que les imaginations malades ou fortement ébranlées, ſe repaiſſent plus volontiérs de chiméres que de realité, ſoit que des agens ſecrets fuſſent chargés de donner une direction á l'amour violent de la nouveauté, les cœurs reſterent ſecs & inſenſibles au ſpectacle de la miſére dont les yeux etoient journellement frappés, pour ne s'occuper excluſivement que de maux

maux imaginaires ou eloignés, et ſur leſquels on n'avoit que des idées vagues. Tous les maux de l'humanité furent l'ouvrage des intrigans, de ces hommes mille fois plus funeſtes a là ſociété que les brigands le plus feroces, &c. CHAP. II. p. 16.

Reflexions ſur la Colonie de St. Domingue, tom. i. p. 72.

CHAP. III. p. 31. CHAP. III. p. 31.

All that can be urged in extenuation, ſeems to be that the circumſtances of the caſe were novel, and the Members of the Colonial Aſſembly unexperienced in the buſineſs of legiſlation, &c.

A MOST able and elaborate defence of the Colonial Aſſembly was drawn up by one of its Members (Mr. de Pons) and publiſhed at Paris in November 1790, wherein (as far as general rules will admit) the relation in which the Colony ſtood to the Mother Country, and the rights that diſtinctly appertained to each party, conſiſtently with that due ſubordination which was due from the child to the parent, was clearly, and (with one or two exceptions) I think very accurately defined. I ſhall preſent the reader with an extract from this performance, not only as illuſtrating the caſe of St. Domingo, but as furniſhing ſome hints which the government and colonies of Great Britain may not find unworthy attention, if unhappily diſputes ſhall hereafter ariſe between them, concerning the extents of juriſdiction on the one hand, and the obligation to obedience on the other.

Un

CHAP. III. p. 31.

Un principe d'où ſont émanés tous les travaux de l'Aſſemblée de la Colonie, fut généralement adopté par tous ſes Membres, c'eſt que les Colonies ne doivent intéreſſer la Métropole, qu'en proportion des avantages qu'elles lui procurent. Cette conſidération dût acquérir, dans l'eſprit de tous les Colons, un caractère de légalité à tous les moyens qui pouvoient aſſurer la proſpérité de la Colonie, & augmenter ſes rapports avec la mère-patrie.

Il auroit été ſans doute à ſouhaiter, & il le ſeroit bien plus encore, qu'une même Loi pût convenir à tous les climats, à toute eſpèce de mœurs, à toutes les populations; mais malheureuſement les hommes ne ſont pas les mêmes par-tout; telle Loi qui convient dans un endroit, ſeroit nuiſible dans un autre.

L'Aſſemblée générale enviſagea donc la Conſtitution de Saint-Domingue ſous trois rapports, toujours dirigés d'après ſon intérêt de reſter unie à la Métropole, & d'après la révolution de l'empire.

1°. Comme faiſant partie intégrante de l'empire François.

2°. Comme obligée de concourir par ſes productions à la proſpérité de l'Etat.

3°. Comme aſſujettie par la diſſemblance de ſon climat, de ſes mœurs & de ſa population, à des beſoins particuliers & différens de ceux de la Métropole.

CHAP. III.
p. 31.

DIVISION DE LA CONSTITUTION DE SAINT-DOMINGUE.

CES divers rapports firent diviſer la Conſtitution convenable à Saint-Domingue,

En Loix générales ;

En Loix communes,

Et en Loix particulières.

LOIX GENERALES.

LES Loix générales de l'empire, celles qui intéreſſent tous les François, dans quelque coin de la terre qu'ils ſoient placés, furent conſidérées comme obligatoires pour les Colonies, ſans aucun examen, ſans aucune reſtriction.

Ces Loix ſont : la forme du Gouvernment, le ſort de la Couronne, la réconnoiſſance du Monarque, les Déclarations de guerre, les Traités de paix, l'organiſation générale de la Police & de la Juſtice, &c. &c. L'intérêt des Colonies ſe trouvant à cet égard confondu avec celui de toute la Nation, l'Aſſemblée Nationale a ſeule le droit de décréter ces Loix.

LOIX COMMUNES.

LES Loix communes ſont celles qui ont rapport aux rélàtions de la Métropole avec les Colonies ; c'eſt un contrat par lequel la France s'oblige de protéger & défendre les Colonies contre les puiſſances étrangères, de l'ambition deſquelles elles deviendroient l'objet. Cette protection ne devant ni ne pouvant être

CHAP. III. p. 31. gratuite, les Colonies doivent en dédommager l'Etat par les avantages du Commerce. Délà, le régime prohibitif dans les fers duquel la deſtinée les a condamnés à reſter toujours ; & quel que ſoit le degré de liberté dont jouiſſe la Nation, les Colonies ſeront toujours eſclaves du Commerce. C'eſt une poſition politique abſolument inhèrente à leur poſition phyſique, elles n'en laiſſent pas échapper le moindre murmure ; elles ſavent bien que leur qualité de François ne leur donne pas de droit ſur les déniers de l'Etat ; elles conſentent donc à ne récévoir que de la France tous les objets de conſommation que ſes Manufactures & ſon ſol peuvent fournir ; elles ſouſcrivent encore à l'obligation de n'envoyer leurs denrées qu'en France. Ce qu'elles demandent, ce qu'on ne peut leur réfuſer, c'eſt qu'en conſacrant ces conventions fondamentales, les abus que le régime prohibitif entraîne àprès lui ſoient détruits.

Loix particulieres ou regime interieur.

Les Loix particulières ſont celles qui n'intéreſſent que les Colonies. De grands motifs ont porté la Colonie de Saint-Domingue à s'en réſerver la formation : 1°. il eſt bien reconnu que les Loix de Saint-Domingue ne peuvent être faites ailleurs que dans ſon ſein ; cette vérité fondamentale a échappé à ſon ennemi le plus cruel. M. la Luzerne, dans ſon mémoire préſenté à l'Aſſemblée Nationale, le 27 Octobre 1789, (N°. 2.) diſoit que les Colonies n'ont jamais pu être régies par les mêmes Loix que le Royaume, & qu'il a fallu toujours conférer le pouvoir à deux Adminiſtrateurs de faire les Loix locales, parce qu'il

eſt une infinité de convenances qu'on ne peut connoître que ſur les lieux. CHAP. III. p. 31.

Ce que l'Aſſemblée générale s'eſt réſervée n'eſt donc que la portion du pouvoir légiſlatif qui réſidoit, contre le droit des hommes, dans les mains de deux ſatrapes, que la Colonie n'intéreſſe que par les richeſſes qu'ils en retirent pendant leur triennat.

2°. Il eſt contraire aux principes conſtitutionnels, que celui qui fait la Loi n'y ſoit point aſſujetti.

Tous les hommes ont le droit de concourir à la formation de la Loi à laquelle ils ſont aſſujettis ; mais nul ne peut concourir à la formation de celle qui ne l'aſſujettit pas.

Ce principe, ſeul égide de la liberté individuelle, ſeul garant de la bienfaiſance de la Loi, n'a pas permis aux Colons de Saint-Domingue de douter que l'Aſſemblée Nationale, diſpenſatrice des bienfaits régénérateurs, n'approuvât cette diſpoſition qui aſſure la proſpérité de Saint-Domingue.

En effet, il ne peut pas en être des Loix locales des Sections éloignées de l'Empire, comme des Loix qui n'intéreſſent que la France.

La Loi décrétée pour le Royaume eſt la même pour tous les Cantons. L'univerſalité des Députés de l'Aſſemblée Nationale eſt intéreſſée à en examiner ſcrupuleuſement tous les rapports, à en conſidérer tous les avantages & tous les inconvéniens. De ſorte que l'intérêt que tous ont à ce que la Loi, du vice de la-

CHAP. III. p. 31. quelle ils ſeroient eux-mêmes les victimes, ne ſoit que le fruit d'une longue méditation, & de réflexions longuement & ſoigneuſement diſcutées, en aſſure la ſageſſe.

Les Loix particulières de Saint-Domingue n'aſſujettiſſant que les habitans qui y réſident ou qui y ont leurs fortunes, n'intéreſſent dans l'Aſſemblée Nationale que les douze Députés des Colonies.

3°. Une des conditions eſſentielles, à la bonté de la Loi, eſt que celui qui la fait, connoiſſe parfaitement les rapports qui doivent la conſtituer. Or, nul ne peut connoître les particularités locales que celui qui eſt ſur les lieux, parce que ces mêmes particularités changent & varient ; & il faut que la Loi ſoit faite, d'après ces changemens, d'après ces variations.

4°. Il eſt bien conſtant que les liens de la Société ſont les pouvoirs établis pour en faire éxécuter les conditions.

Le bonheur de toute conſtitution dépend abſolument d'une action égale dans ces différens pouvoirs ; c'eſt cette égalité ſeule qui en maintient l'équilibre.

Il faut néceſſairement qu'il exiſte à Saint-Dominque un pouvoir éxécutif ; car le malheur des Sociétés veut que la raiſon n'aille jamais en politique qu'à côté de la force. Si ce pouvoir n'eſt balancé par aucun autre, il finira par tout envahir, & par ſubſtituer l'oppreſſion aux bienfaits de la régénération à laquelle la révolution actuelle donne à tous les François le droit de prétendre. Il ne peut donc être contenu dans ſes bornes que par une

une maſſe proportionnée de pouvoir légiſlatif, dont il ait à redouter la ſurveillance. CHAP. III. p. 31.

5°. Les principes de l'Aſſemblée Nationale s'oppoſent à ce qu'elle décrète la Conſtitution particulière de Saint-Domingue. Celle de la France a pour baſe la liberté, l'égalité ; celle de Saint-Domingue repoſe malheureuſement ſur la ſervitude, & une diſtinction de claſſes, d'où dépend la conſervation de cette ſuperbe Colonie. Tous les raiſonnemens poſſibles échoueront contre cette vérité.

Ces différentes obſervations, bien analyſées dans l'Aſſemblée générale, la raſſurèrent ſur la crainte qu'elle avoit de ne point ſe trouver d'accord avec les principes de l'Aſſemblée Nationale, & de prêter à la calomnie le prétexte d'inculper ſes intentions.

Les différens Membres de l'Aſſemblée générale étoient bien éloignés de prévoir que l'heureuſe révolution qui a porté la joie & l'enthouſiaſme dans les cœurs de tous les François, finiroit par porter à Saint-Domingue le deuil & la déſolation. Qu'importe à la France, quelque ſoit notre régime domeſtique, pourvu qu'il tende à augmenter les productions de la Colonie ? pourvu que nous ſoyons aſſujettis aux Loix générales de l'Empire ? pourvu que nous reſpections les rapports commerciaux ? pourvu que nous regardions la ſujétion de ne traiter qu'avec la France, comme un juſte dédommagement de la protection & des ſecours qu'elle nous accorde ? pourvu que nous éxécutions les Décrets de l'Aſſemblée Nationale, en tout ce qui n'eſt point contraire aux localités.

Il

CHAP. III. p. 31.

Il importe à la France que nous ſoyons heureux, que nous conſommions les denrées & les marchandiſes qu'elle peut nous fournir, & que nous lui envoyions en échange beaucoup de ſucre, de café, d'indigo, de coton, de cacao, &c. Enfin, il lui importe que la Conſtitution de Saint-Domingue ſoit telle, qu'elle uniſſe pour jamais cette Colonie à la Métropole, & qu'elle concoure, par ſes richeſſes, à la proſpérité de l'Etat.

D'après ces réflexions, ſimples & vraies, l'Aſſemblée générale de Saint-Domingue poſa ſes baſes conſtitutionnelles dans ſon Décret du 28 Mai (N°. 3.)

CHAP. IV. p. 49.

Chap. IV. p. 49.

Suppreſſed it certainly was, and the miſerable Ogé hurried to immediate execution, as if to prevent the further communication and full diſcloſure of ſo weighty a ſecret.

This is a very remarkable fact, and leads to moſt ſerious reflections concerning the conduct of the French loyaliſts in St. Domingo; I ſhall therefore preſent the reader with Ogé's dying declaration at length, as copied *verbatim* from the public records, when the diſcloſure was made nine months afterwards to the Colonial Aſſembly.

TESTAMENT

CHAP. IV.
p. 49.

TESTAMENT DE MORT D'OGÉ.

EXTRAIT des minutes du Conseil Supérieur du Cap, l'an mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze et le neuf mars, nous Antoine-Etienne Ruotte, conseiller du roi, doyen au Conseil Supérieur du Cap, et Marie-François Pourchereſſe de Vertieres, aussi conseiller du roi au Conseil Supérieur du Cap, commissaires nommés par la cour, à l'effet de faire exécuter l'arrêt de ladite cour, du 5 du présent mois, portant condamnation de mort contre le nommé Jacques Ogé, dit Jacquot, quarteron libre ; lequel, étant en la chambre criminelle, et après lecture faite dudit arrêt, en ce qui le concerne, a dit et déclaré, pour la décharge de sa conscience, serment préalablement par lui prêté, la main levée devant nous, de dire vérité.

Que dans le commencement du mois de février dernier, si les rivières n'avoient pas été débordées, il devoit se faire un attroupement de gens de couleur, qui devoient entraîner avec eux les ateliers, et devoient venir fondre sur la ville du Cap en nombre très-considérable ; qu'ils étoient même déjà réunis au nombre de onze mille hommes ; que le débordement des rivières est le seul obstacle qui les a empêchés de se réunir ; cette quantité d'hommes de couleur étant composée de ceux du Mirebalais, de l'Artibonite, du Limbe, d'Ouanaminthe, de la Grande-Rivière, et généralement de toute la Colonie. Qu'à cette époque, il était sorti du Cap cent hommes de couleur pour se joindre à cette troupe. Que l'accusé est assuré que les auteurs de cette révolte sont les Declains, négres libres de la Grande-Riviére, accusés

au

CHAP. IV. p. 49. au procès; Dumas, n. l.; Yvon, n. l.; Bitozin, m. l. eſpagnol; Pierre Godard et Jean-Baptiſte, ſon frère, n. l. de la Grande-Rivière; Legrand Mazeau et Touſſaint Mazeau, n. l.; Pierre Mauzi, m. l.; Ginga Lapaire, Charles Lamadieu, les Sabourins, Jean Pierre Goudy, Joſeph Lucas, mulâtres libres; Maurice, n. l.; tous accuſés au procès.

Que les grands moteurs, au bas de la côte, ſont les nommés Daguin, accuſé au procès; Rebel, demeurant au Mirebalais; Pinchinat, accuſé au procès; Labaſtille, également accuſé au procès; et que l'accuſé, ici préſent, croit devoir nous déclarer être un des plus ardens partiſans de la révolte, qui a mu en grande partie celle qui a éclaté dans les environs de Saint-Marc, et qui cherche à en éxciter une nouvelle; qu'il y a dans ce moment pluſieurs gens de couleur, dans différens quartiers, bien réſolus à tenir à leurs projets, malgré que ceux qui trempéroient dans la révolte perdroient la vie; que l'accuſé, ici préſent, ne peut pas ſe reſſouvenir du nom de tous; mais qu'il ſe rappelle que le fils de Laplace, q. l.; dont lui accuſé a vu la ſœur dans les priſons, a quitté le Limbé pour aller faire des récrues dans le quartier d'Ouanaminthe; et que ces récrues et ces ſoulevemens de gens de couleur ſont ſoutenus ici par la préſence des nommés Fleury et l'Hirondelle Viard, députés des gens de couleur auprès de l'aſſemblée nationale; que lui accuſé, ici préſent, ignore ſi les députés ſe tiennent chez eux; qu'il croit que le nommé Fleury ſe tient au Mirebalais, et le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard dans le quartier de la Grande-Rivière.

Que

Que lui accuſé, ici préſent, déclare que l'inſurrection des révoltés exiſte dans les ſouterrains qui ſe trouvent entre la Crête à Marcan et le Canton du Giromon, paroiſſe de la Grande-Rivière; qu'en conſéquence, ſi lui accuſé pouvoit être conduit ſur les lieux, il ſe feroit fort de prendre les chefs des révoltés; que l'agitation dans laquelle il ſe trouve, rélativement à ſa poſition actuelle, ne lui permet pas de nous donner des détails plus circonſtanciés; qu'il nous les donnera par la ſuite, lorſqu'il ſera un peu plus tranquil; qu'il lui vient en ce moment à l'eſprit que le nommé Caſtaing, mulâtre libre de cette dépendance; ne ſe trouve compris en aucune manière dans l'affaire actuelle; mais que lui accuſé, nous aſſure que ſi ſon frère Ogé eût ſuivi l'impulſion dudit Caſtaing, il ſe ſeroit porté à de bien plus grandes extrémités; qui eſt tout ce qu'il nous a dit pouvoir nous déclarer dans ce moment, dont lui avons donné acte, qu'il a ſigné avec nous et le gréffier. CHAP. IV. p. 49.

Signé à la minute J. OGE', RUOTTE, POURCHERESSE DE VERTIERES, et LANDAIS, gréffier.

EXTRAIT des minutes du greffe du Conſeil Supérieur du Cap, l'an mil ſept cent quatre-vingt-onze, le dix mars, trois heures de rélévée, en la chambre criminelle, nous Antoine-Etienne Ruotte, conſeiller du roi, doyen du Conſeil Supérieur du Cap, et Marie-François-Joſeph de Vertieres, auſſi conſeiller du roi audit Conſeil Supérieur du Cap, commiſſaires nommés par la cour, ſuivant arrêt de ce jour, rendu ſur les concluſions du procureur général du roi de ladite cour, à l'effet de procéder au recolement de la déclaration faite par le nommé Jacques Ogé, q.l.;

CHAP. IV. p. 49. lequel, après ferment par lui fait, la main levée devant nous de dire la vérité, et après lui avoir fait lecture, par le gréffier, de la déclaration du jour d'hier, l'avons interpellé de nous déclarer si ladite déclaration contient vérité, s'il veut n'y rien ajouter, n'y diminuer, et s'il y perſiſte.

A répondu que ladite déclaration du jour d'hier contient vérité, qu'il y perſiſte, et qu'il y ajoute que les deux Didiers frères, dont l'un plus grand que l'autre, mulâtres ou quarterons libres, ne les ayant vu que cette fois; Jean-Pierre Gerard, m. l. du Cap, et Caton, m. l. auſſi du Cap, ſont employés à gagner les ateliers de la Grande-Rivière, qu'ils ſont enſemble de jour, et que de nuit ils ſont diſperſés.

Ajoute encore que lors de ſa confrontation avec Jacques Lucas, il a été dit par ce dernier, que lui accuſé, ici préſent, l'avoit menacé de le faire pendre; à quoi, lui accuſé, a répondu audit Jacques Lucas, qu'il devoit ſavoir pourquoi que ledit Jacques Lucas n'ayant pas inſiſté, lui accuſé n'a pas déclaré le motif de cette menace, pour ne pas perdre ledit Jacques Lucas; qu'il nous déclare les choſes comme elles ſe ſont paſſées; que ledit Lucas lui ayant dit qu'il avoit ſoulevé les atéliers de M. Bonamy et de divers autres habitans de la Grande-Rivière, pour aller égorger l'armée chez M. Cardineau; qu'au prémier coup de corne, il étoit ſûr que ces atéliers s'attrouperoient et ſe joindroient à la troupe des gens de couleur; alors lui accuſé, tenant aux blancs, fut révolté de cette barbarie, et dit au nommé Jacques Lucas, que l'auteur d'un pareil projet méritoit d'être pendu; qu'il eût à l'inſtant à faire rentrer les négres qu'il avoit appoſté

dans

dans différens coins avec des cornes ; que lui accuſé, ici préſent, nous déclare qu'il a donné audit Lucas trois pomponelles de tafia, trois bouteilles de vin et du pain ; qu'il ignoroit l'uſage que ledit Lucas en faiſoit ; que la troiſième fois que ledit Lucas en vint chercher ; lui accuſé, ici préſent, lui ayant demandé ce qu'il faiſoit de ces boiſſons et vivres ; ledit Lucas répondit que c'étoit pour les nègres qu'il avoit diſperſé de côté et d'autre ; que ce qui prouve que ledit Lucas avoit le projèt de ſouléver les nègres eſclaves contre les blancs, et de faire égorger ces derniers par les prémiers ; c'eſt la propoſition qu'il fit à Vincent Ogé, frère de lui accuſé, de venir ſur l'habitation de lui Jacques Lucas, pour être plus a portée de ſe joindre aux nègres qu'il avoit débauché ; que ſi lui accuſé n'a pas révélé ces faits à ſa confrontation avec ledit Jacques Lucas, c'eſt qu'il s'eſt apperçu qu'ils n'étoient pas connus, et qu'il n'a pas voulu le perdre ; qu'il a du moinsla ſatisfaction d'avoir détourné ce crime horrible et cannibale ; qu'il s'étoit réſervé de révéler en juſtice, lors de ſon élargiſſement ; que ce même Lucas eſt celui qui a voulu couper la tête a deux blancs priſonniers, et notàmment au ſieur Beliſle, pour lui avoir enlevé une femme ; que Pierre Roubert ôta le ſabre des mains de Jacques Lucas, et appella Vincent Ogé, frère de lui accuſé, ici préſent, qui fit des rémontrances audit Lucas ; que cependant ces priſonniers ont déclarés en juſtice que c'étoit lui accuſé qui avoit eu ce deſſein ; que même à la confrontation ils le lui ont ſoutenu ; mais que le fait s'étant paſſé de nuit, leſdits priſonniers ont pris, lui accuſé, pour ledit Lucas, tandis que lui accuſé n'a ceſſé de les combler d'honnêtetés ; qu'à la confrontation, lui accuſé a cru qu'il étoit ſuffiſant de dire que ce n'étoit pas lui, et d'affirmer qu'il n'avoit jamais connu cette femme ; mais qu'aujourd'-

CHAP. IV. p. 49.

CHAP. IV. p. 49.

hui il ſe croyoit obligé, pour la décharge de ſa conſcience, de nous rendre les faits tels qu'ils ſont, et d'inſiſter à jurer qu'il ne l'a jamais connue.

Ajoute l'accuſé que le nommé Fleury et Periſſe; le premier, l'un des députés des gens de couleur près de l'aſſemblée nationale, ſont arrivés en cette Colonie par un bâtiment Bordelais avec le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard; que le capitaine a mis les deux prémiers à Acquin, chez un nommé Dupont, homme de couleur; et le nommé l'Hirondelle Viard, également député des gens de couleur, au Cap. Ajoute encore l'accuſé, qu'il nous avoit déclaré, le jour d'hier, que le nommé Laplace, dont le père eſt ici dans les priſons, faiſant des récrues à Ouanaminthe, eſt du nombre de ceux qui ont marché du Limbé contre le Cap; que pour éloigner les ſoupçons, il eſt allé au Port-Margot, où il s'eſt tenu caché pluſieurs jours, feignant d'avoir une fluxion; que ledit Laplace père a dit, à lui accuſé, qu'il étoit ſûr que ſon voiſin, qui eſt un blanc, ne dépoſera pas contre lui, malgré qu'il fache toutes ſes démarches; qu'il étoit aſſuré que le nommé Girardeau, détenu en priſon, ne déclareroit rien, parce qu'il étoit trop ſon ami pour le découvrir; qu'enſuite, s'il le dénonçoit, il ſeroit forcé d'en dénoncer beaucoup d'autres, tant du Limbé que des autres quartiers.

Obſerve l'accuſé que lorſqu'il nous a parlé des moyens employés par Jacques Lucas pour ſoulever les nègres eſclaves, il a omis de nous dire que Pierre Maury avait envoyé une trentaine d'eſclaves chez Lucas; que lui accuſé, avec l'agrément d'Ogé le jeune, ſon frère, les renvoya, ce qui occaſionna une plainte générale, les gens de couleur diſant que c'étoit du renfort; que lui

accuſé

accuſé eut même à cette occaſion une rixe avec le plus grand des Didiers, avec lequel il manqua de ſe battre au piſtolet, pour vouloir lui ſoutenir qu'étant libre et cherchant à être aſſimilé aux blancs, il n'étoit pas fait pour être aſſimilé aux nègres eſclaves; que d'ailleurs ſoulevant les eſclaves, c'étoit détruire les propriétés des blancs, et qu'en les détruiſant, ils détruiſoient les leurs propres; que depuis que lui accuſé étoit dans les priſons, il a vu un petit billet écrit par ledit Pierre Maury à Jean-François Teſſier, par lequel il lui marque qu'il continue à ramaſſer, et que le nègre nommé Coquin, à la dame veuve Caſtaing aînée, armé d'une paire de piſtolet garni en argent et d'une manchette que ledit Maury lui a donné, veille à tout ce qui ſe paſſe, et rend compte tous les ſoirs audit Maury; qui eſt tout ce que l'accuſé, ici preſent, nous déclare, en nous coujurant d'être perſuadés que, s'il lui étoit poſſible d'obtenir miſéricorde, il s'expoſeroit volontièrs à tous les dangers pour faire arrêter les chefs de ces révoltés; et que dans toutes les circonſtances, il prouvera ſon zèle et ſon reſpect pour les blancs. CHAP. IV. p. 49.

Lecture à lui faite de ſa déclaration, dans laquelle il perſiſte pour contenir vérité, lui en donnons acte, qu'il a ſigné avec nous et le gréffier.

Signé à la minute J. OGE', RUOTTE, POUCHERESSES DE VERTIERES, et LANDAIS, gréffier.

Pour expedition collationée, ſigné LANDAIS, gréffier.

A copy of the preceding document, the exiſtence of which I had often heard of, but very much doubted, was tranſmitted

CHAP. IV. p. 49. to me from St. Domingo in the month of July 1795, incloſed in a letter from a gentleman of that iſland, whoſe attachment to the Britiſh cannot be ſuſpected, and whoſe means of information were equal to any: This Letter is too remarkable to be omitted, and I hope, as I conceal his name, that the writer will pardon its publication: It here follows.

Je vous envoye ci joint, le teſtament de Jaques Ogé executé au Cap le 9 Mars 1791. Voici mes réflexions ſur les dates et les faits:

1°. Jaques Ogé depoſe le projet connu dépuis long tems par les Briſſotins dont il étoit un des Agents. Il nomme les chefs des Mulâtres, qui dans toutes les parties de la Colonie devoient éxécuter un plan digne des Suppôts de l'enfer.

2°. Il depoſe que l'abondance des pluies et les cruës des rivières avoient empèché l'éxécution du projet au mois de fèvrier.

3°. Il déclare que ſi on veut lui accorder miſéricorde, il s'expoſera aux dangers de faire arrêter les chefs.

Ogé eſt éxécuté, avec vingt de ſes complices, le 9 Mars 1791. Son teſtament eſt gardé ſecret juſqu'a la fin de 1791 (après l'incendie générale de la partie du Nord) qu'un arrèté de l'Aſſemblée Coloniale oblige impèrieuſement le Gréffier du Conſeil du Cap à en délivrer des copies. Que conclure? Hélas, que les coupables ſont auſſi nombreux qu' atroces et cruels!

1ers. Coupables: Les hommes de couleur nommés par la dépoſition d'Ogé. CHAP. IV. p. 49.

2. (et au moins autant s'ils ne ſont plus) Le Conſeil du Cap, qui a oſé faire éxécuter Ogé, et qui a gardé le ſecret ſur ſes depoſitions ſi interreſſantes.

3. Le Général Blanchelande et tous les chefs militaires qui non pas fait arrêter ſur le champ toutes les perſonnes de Couleur nommes par Ogé et ne les ont confrontes avec leur accuſateur. Mais non: on a precipité l'éxécution du malheureux Ogé; on a gardé un ſecret dont la publicité ſauvoit la Colonie. On a laiſſé libres tous les chefs des révoltés; on les a laiſſé pour ſuivre leurs projets deſtructifs.

Si les Chefs militaires, le conſeil, les magiſtrats civils, avoient fait arrêter au mois de Mars 1791, les mulâtres Pinchinat, Caſtaing, Viard, et tous les autres, ils n'auroient pas pu conſomer leur crime le 25 Août ſuivant. Les Régimens de Normandie et d'Artois qui venoient d' arriver de France, etoient aſſés forts pour arrêter tous les gens de couleur coupables, et s'ils ne l'avoient pas été, et que ce fut le motif, qui eut empèché Blanchelande d'agir, pourquoi Blanchelande envoya til, au mois de Mai 1791, des troupes de lignes que lui envoyoit de la Martinique, M. de Behague?

La ſérie de tous ces faits prouve évidement la coalition des contre révolutionaires avec les Mulâtres, dont ils ont été la dupe, et la victime après l'arrivée des Commiſſaires Polverel et Santhonax.

CHAP.

CHAP. V. p. 56.

CHAP. V. p. 56.

Mauduit ſtarted back, &c.—while not a ſingle hand was lifted up in his defence.

In this laſt particular I was miſinformed, and rejoice that I have an opportunity of correcting my miſtake. The following detail of that bloody tranſaction has been tranſmitted to me from St. Domingo ſince the firſt ſheets were printed: "Les grenadiers du regiment de Mauduit, et d'autres voix parties de la foule, demandent que le Colonel faſſe reparation à la garde nationale. On éxige qu'il faſſe des excuſes pour l'inſulte qu'il lui a fait. Il prononce les excuſes qu'on lui demande; ſes grénadiers ne ſont points ſatisfaits, ils veulent qu'il les faſſe à genoux. Une rumeur terrible ſe fait entendre: ce fut alors que pluſieurs citoyens, *même de ceux que Mauduit avoit le plus vexé*, fendent la foule, et cherchent à le ſouſtraire au mouvement qui ſe préparoit. On a vu dans ce moment le bràve *Beauſoleil*, àprès avoir été atteint d'un coup de feu á l'affaire du 29 au 30 Juillet, en défendant le comité *(ſee page* 34) recèvoir un coup de sàbre en protégeant les jours de Mauduit. On peut rendre juſtice auſſi à deux officiers de Mauduit: *Galeſeau* et *Germain* n'ayant pas abandonné leur Colonel juſqu'au dernier moment; mais l'indignation des ſoldats étoit à ſon comble, et il n'etoit plus temps.

MAUDUIT preſſé par ſes grénadiers, de s'agénouiller pour demander pardon à la garde nationale, et refuſant conſtamment de

de s'y ſoumettre, reçut un coup de sàbre à la figure, qui le terraſſa; un autre grénadier lui coupa à l'inſtant la tête, *qui fut portée au bout d'une bayonnette.* Alors le reſſentiment des ſoldats et des matelots livrés à eux memes, n'eut plus de bornes: ils ſe tranſporterent chez Mauduit, où ils trainèrent ſon corps, tout y fut briſé, rompu, meubles &c. on décarela même la maiſon, &c. &c.

CHAP. V. p. 56.

CHAP. VI. p. 77.

CHAP. VI. p. 77.

It was computed that, within two months after the revolt began, upwards of 2,000 *white perſons had been maſſacred, &c.*

In the month of October 1791 the Colonial Aſſembly of St. Domingo ſent two Commiſſioners (Meſs. *Raboteau* and *Lemoine)* to negociate a loan of money in the Iſland of Jamaica, on the ſecurity of their internal taxes and port duties. As an Act of Aſſembly was neceſſary to give effect to the meaſure, it was propoſed in the houſe, by the author of this work, to advance on this occaſion £. 100,000 of the publick money, but the motion was over-ruled by a majority. The houſe however ordered the Receiver General to advance the French Commiſſioners £. 10,000 Sterling on the ſecurity of bills drawn by the Colonial Government on the treaſury of France; but this offer was declined by the Colonial Aſſembly. In the courſe of this buſineſs the French Commiſſioners were examined at the bar, and from the examination of one of thoſe gentlemen I have ſelected ſome

CHAP. VI. P. 77. of the particulars given in the text. It is a curious and important document; and conceiving that ſome of my readers will not be diſpleaſed to have an opportunity of peruſing the whole, I have ſubjoined it, as follows:

"On the 16th of October laſt (1791) when I left Cape François, 182 ſugar plantations, and 950 coffee, cotton, and indigo ſettlements had been plundered and deſtroyed, and the buildings thereof burnt down; one hundred thouſand ſlaves, as far as can be computed, were in rebellion, and the men of Colour in a ſtate of inſurrection in every part of the Colony except round the Cape. All the whites that fell into their hands were indiſcriminately murdered, and about 1,200 families reduced to ſuch a dreadful ſtate of miſery, that they were forced to receive their clothing and ſuſiſtance either from public or private charity.

"The loſs in this year's crop was eſtimated at 66,000,000 * St. Domingo livres, which are nearly equal to £. 2,650,000 of the currency of Jamaica. The value of the capital could not then be aſcertained, but it muſt amount to an immenſe ſum, conſidering the loſs of ſtock, ſlaves, and buildings.

"Since I left the town of the Cape, the rebellion has extended itſelf to the eaſtern parts of the plain, and 246 coffee ſettlements and a few ſugar plantations have been deſtroyed; this will add about £. 300,000 † Jamaica currency to the loſs of this year's crop.

* Nearly £. 1,900,000 ſterling. † £. 210,000 ſterling.

CHAP. VI. P. 77.

" The laſt accounts I have received from St. Domingo inform me, that detachments of regulars and militia have ſucceeded in ſurpriſing and diſperſing ſeveral negro encampments, in conſequence of which a few gangs of ſlaves have returned to their maſters' eſtates; but theſe advantages have occaſioned extreme fatigue to our troops, though they have not been able to reduce even the ſixth part of the rebels.

" The quarters of Doudon and Grande Riviere are occupied by ſuch a number of rebels, that without a larger body of troops than we are poſſeſſed of, we cannot attempt to attack them with any hope of ſucceſs.

" We are reduced to remain ſhut up as it were within the town of the Cape, and it is with great difficulty that we can man the line of poſts which are neceſſary to prevent the rebels from attacking the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland. Notwithſtanding the activity of our troops, a body of the rebels found means to paſs thoſe poſts, in order to ſpread their ravages in the mountains of L'artibonite, called *Les Cahos*; the inhabitants whereof have united their forces to repulſe and ſtop them, but after killing a few, the reſt eſcaped into the woods, and there is reaſon to apprehend that the rebellion may ſoon extend itſelf to that part of the iſland, which would in a few days become a prey to a general conflagration.

" At this juncture we received a copy of the decree of the national aſſembly of the 24th of September laſt, whereby our rights are acknowledged; but we fear too late. We have only

CHAP. VI. p. 77. a copy of the decree, it has not been received officially, no troops are yet arrived to enforce the execution of it; and that decree may, in our critical circumſtances, add to our calamities, inaſmuch as the free people of colour, knowing the enormity of their crimes, declare that they will ſooner periſh than ſubmit to this laſt decree; they are again forming a camp in the pariſh of La Croix des Bouquets, near Port au Prince, and every hour I dread to hear of their having commenced hoſtilities againſt the white inhabitants; if ſo, our ruin is inevitable.

"If this ſhould unfortunately be the caſe, your Iſland, Gentlemen, would of courſe be expoſed to ſimilar deſtruction, as the ſucceſs of our ſlaves would induce your own to rebel againſt you.

"Negroes have not ſufficient reſolution to encounter the whites in the field of battle; but no men bear with greater fortitude hunger, pain, and fatigue, when once their imagination is heated, and their reſolution ſettled; we have amongſt us men, who, pretending to be philanthropiſts, have preached freedom even to our ſlaves; theſe men are connected with men of weight and fortune in Old France, by whom they are greatly encouraged, and who are alſo connected with the philanthropiſts in Great Britain, *from whoſe conduct, indeed, the firſt example was taken*; and I moſt ſincerely pray, that this iſland may not be expoſed to the ſame evils as have reſulted amongſt us from ſuch an enormous miſinterpretation and miſapplication of philanthropical principles.

"The

CHAP. VI. P. 77.

" The means left us for our defence are but few and feeble, and it is indeed ſurpriſing that we have been able to reſiſt our enemies for ſo long a time; we owe much to the power of opinion, and to the ſuperiority the negroes have been accuſtomed to yield to the whites. The forces we have to defend every part of the colony, conſiſts of about 1000 men of the regiments of Artois and Normandy; 700 of the regiment of the Cape, including the ſick, who are in great number; 1200 ſtipendiary troops, paid by ourſelves; and 6000 or 7000 militia, which have been without the leaſt diſcipline or order ever ſince our fatal political diviſions. Our maritime force conſiſts in one ſhip of 74 guns, two frigates, and two ſloops of war.

" It is with ſuch feeble means that we are to face the free people of colour, and the ſlaves in rebellion. We have applied for relief to our neighbours and allies, the Spaniards; but it has been refuſed by the Spaniſh government, with inhumanity and inſult; private men among them, and ſome of the commanding officers on the lines between us and them, *appear to have ſeconded the rebels, by ſupplying them with ammunition, and by delivering into their hands ſome of the wretched inhabitants, who had fled to them for refuge.*

" Our publick treaſury is not only free of debt, but there is even money due to it, yet it is abſolutely empty; it being impoſſible at preſent to collect the taxes, or otherwiſe to provide for the vaſt expence occaſioned by the war, and the neceſſity of giving relief to unfortunate families in want.

" The

CHAP. VI. p. 77.

" The ſtate of our monthly expences is nearly as follows:

3000 regular troops, at 3 livres a-day, is 9000 livres a-day, equal *per* month to - -	270,000
4000 men, women, and children at public allowance, at 2 livres a-day, is *per* month - -	240,000
Expences of officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, &c. - - - - -	410,000
Total Livres -	920,000

of St. Domingo currency, or about £.34,166 * Jamaica currency *per* month, without including ſeveral other extraordinary expences, ſuch as that of adminiſtration, rewards, maritime expeditions, &c.

" Were we deprived of the neceſſary funds to pay our troops, and to ſupply them with proviſions, they ſoon would join the mulattoes, and we ſhould be ruined without any reſource. The forces which are expected from Europe would arrive too late; and they could then only revenge, and not defend us.

" RABOTEAU."

CHAP. VII. p. 85.

CHAP. VII. p. 85.

The ſociety of Amis des Noirs reſorted without ſcruple to thoſe meaſures which their fellow labourers in London ſtill heſitated to adopt.

Je répéterai éternellement que c'eſt à vous, zélateurs de philantropie! qu' appartient l'honneur de ces bouleverſements:

* £. 24,500 ſterling.

c'eſt

c'eſt à vous ſeuls que l'on doit le dépériſſement des reſſources nationales. Si vous n'aviez pas ſappé juſqu'aux fondemens la plus brilliante colonie de l'univers, &c. &c. CHAP. VII. p. 85.

Reflexions ſur la Colonie de St. Domingue, tom. 2. p. 66.

CHAP. X. p. 142. CHAP. X. p. 142.

They declared by proclamation all manner of ſlavery aboliſhed, &c.—This proceeding was ratified in February, followed by the National Convention in a Decree, of which follows a Copy.

DECRET de la Convention Nationale, du 16 Jour de Pluviôſe; an ſecond de la Republique Françaiſe, une et indiviſible. 5 Feb. 1794.

LA Convention Nationale déclare que l'eſclavage des Négres dans toutes les Colonies eſt aboli; en conſéquence elle decrète que tous le hommes, ſans diſtinction de couleur, domiciliés dans les Colonies, ſont citoyens Français, et jouiront de tous les droits aſſurés par la conſtitution.

ELLE renvoie au comité de ſalut public, pour lui faire inceſſament un rapport ſur les meſures à prendre pour aſſurer l'éxécution du préſent décret.

Viſé par les inſpecteurs. *Signé*

Auger,
Cordier,
S. E. Monnel.

Collationné

CHAP. X. p. 142.

Collationné à l'original, par nous préſident et ſécrètaires de la Convention Nationale, à Paris le 22 Germinal, an ſecond de la République Françaiſe une et indiviſible. *Signé*, Amar, *Préſident*. A. M. Baudot. Monnot. Ch. Pottier, et Peyſſard, *Sécrétaires*.

As moſt of the French iſlands fell into poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ſoon after that this extraordinary decree was promulgated, the only place where it was attempted to be enforced, was in the ſouthern province of St. Domingo, and the mode of enforcing it, as I have heard, was as ſingular as the decree itſelf. The negroes of the ſeveral plantations were called together, and informed *that they were all a free people*, and at liberty to quit the ſervice of their maſters whenever they thought proper. —They were told however, at the ſame time, that as the Republick wanted ſoldiers, and the ſtate allowed no man to be idle, ſuch of them as left their maſters, would be compelled to enliſt in one or other of the black regiments then forming. At firſt many of the negroes accepted the alternative, and enliſted accordingly; but the reports they ſoon gave of the rigid diſcipline and hard fare to which they were ſubject, operated in a ſurpriſing manner on the reſt, in keeping them more than uſually quiet and induſtrious; and they requeſted that no change might be made in their condition.

CHAP. X. p. 143.

CHAP. X. p. 143.

Of the revolted negroes in the Northern province, many had periſhed of diſeaſe and famine, &c.

FROM the vaſt number of negroes that had fallen in battle, and the ſtill greater number that periſhed from the cauſes above mentioned, it was computed in the year 1793 that this claſs of people at that period had ſuſtained a diminution of more than one hundred thouſand. (*Reflexions ſur la Colonie, &c.* tom. 2. p. 217.) Since that time the mortality has been ſtill more rapid, and, including the loſs of whites, by ſickneſs and emigration, I do not believe that St. Domingo at this juncture (June 1796) contains more than two fifths of the whole number of inhabitants (white and black) which it poſſeſſed in the beginning of 1791.—According to this calculation upwards of 300,000 human beings have miſerably periſhed in this devoted country within the laſt ſix years!

CHAP. X. p. 147.

CHAP. X. p. 147.

The propoſitions, or terms of capitulation, had been previouſly adjuſted between the people of Jeremie, by their Agent, Mr. Charmilly, amd General Williamſon, &c.

As I conceive that theſe articles were drawn up in England, and adjuſted with the King's miniſters previous to Mr. Charmilly's

CHAP. X. p. 147. milly's return from thence, I ſhall preſent them to the reader. The paſſages which I have printed in *italick* are remarkable.

TERMS OF CAPITULATION *propoſed by the Inhabitants of La Grande Anſe (including the Quarter at Jeremie) repreſented by Monſ. de Charmilly, poſſeſſed of full powers by a Commiſſion from the Council of Public Safety of the aforeſaid Place, dated the* 18*th of Auguſt* 1793, *and preſented to his Excellency Major General Williamſon, his Majeſty's Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, for his Acceptance.*

Article I.

That the proprietors of St. Domingo, deprived of all recourſe to their lawful Sovereign to deliver them from the tyranny under which they now groan, implore the protection of his Britannick Majeſty, and take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to him; and ſupplicate him to take their colony under his protection, and to treat them as good and faithful ſubjects till a general peace; at which period they ſhall be finally ſubjected to the terms then agreed upon between his Britannick Majeſty, *the Government of France*, and the Allied Powers, with reſpect to the Sovereignty of St. Domingo.—Anſwer. Granted.

Art. II. That till order and tranquillity are reſtored at St. Domingo, the Governor appointed by his Britannick Majeſty ſhall have full power to regulate and direct whatever meaſures of Safety and Police he ſhall judge proper.—Anſ. Granted.

Art. III. That no one ſhall be moleſted on account of any anterior diſturbances, except thoſe who are legally accuſed, in ſome

some Court of Justice, of having committed murder, or of having destroyed property by fire, or of having instigated others to commit those crimes.—Ans. Granted. CHAP. X. p. 147.

Art. IV. That the Mulattoes shall have all the privileges enjoyed by that class of inhabitants in the British islands.—Ans. Granted.

Art. V. That if, at the conclusion of the war, the colony remains under the Sovereignty of his Britannick Majesty, and order is established therein; in such case, the laws respecting property *and all civil rights, which were in force in the said colony before the Revolution in France, shall be preserved:* nevertheless, until a Colonial Assembly can be formed, his Britannick Majesty shall have the right of determining provisionally upon any measures which the general good and the tranquillity of the colony may require; but that no Assembly shall be called till order is established in every part of the colony; and, till that period, his Britannick Majesty's Governor shall be assisted in all the details of Administration and Police by a Committee of Six Persons, which he shall have the power of choosing from among the proprietors of the three Provinces of which the colony consists.—Ans. Granted.

Art. VI. That, in consequence of the devastations which have taken place in the colony by insurrections, fire, and pillage, the Governor appointed by his Majesty, on taking possession of the colony, to satisfy the demand of the Inhabitants in this respect, *shall be authorized to grant, for the payment of debts, a suspension of ten years, which shall be computed from the date of the surrender; and*

CHAP. X. p. 147. *the ſuſpenſion of all intereſt upon the ſame ſhall begin from the period of the* 1ſt *of Auguſt* 1791, *and terminate at the expiration of the ten years above mentioned granted for the payment of debts*; but all ſums due to minors by their guardians, or to abſent planters by thoſe who have the management of their property, or from one planter to another, for the transfer of property, are not to be included in the above ſuſpenſion.—Anſ. Granted.

Art. VII. That the duties of importation and exportation upon all European commodities ſhall be the ſame as in the Engliſh colonies.—Anſ. Granted. In conſequence, the tariff ſhall be made public and affixed, that every one may be acquainted therewith.

Art. VIII. That the manufacturers of white ſugars ſhall preſerve the right of exporting their clayed ſugars, ſubject to ſuch regulations as it may be neceſſary to make with reſpect to them.—Anſ. Granted. In conſequence, the duties upon white ſugars ſhall be the ſame as were taken in the colony of St. Domingo in 1789.

Art. IX. That the Catholic Religion ſhall be preſerved and maintained, but that no other mode of Evangelic worſhip ſhall be excluded.—Anſ. Granted. On condition that ſuch prieſts as have taken the Oath preſcribed by the perſons exerciſing the powers of Government in France ſhall be ſent away, and replaced by others.

Art. X. The local taxes deſtined to acquit the expences of garriſons, and of the Adminiſtration of the colony ſhall be aſſeſſed in the ſame manner as in 1789, except the alleviations

and remittances which ſhall be granted to the inhabitants whoſe property has ſuffered by fire, till their poſſeſſions are repaired. An account ſhall be kept by the colony of all the ſums advanced on the part of Great Britain for ſupplying the deficiency of the ſaid taxes; which deficiency, as well as all the public expences of the Colony (except thoſe of his Majeſty's naval forces, deſtined for its protection) ſhall always be defrayed by the ſaid colony.—Anſ. Granted.

CHAP. X. p. 147.

Art. XI. His Britannic Majeſty's Governor of St. Domingo ſhall apply to the Spaniſh Government, to obtain reſtitution of the negroes and cattle ſold upon the Spaniſh territory by the revolted ſlaves.—Anſ. Granted.

Art. XII. The importation, in American bottoms, of proviſions, cattle, grain, and wood of every kind from the United States of America, ſhall be allowed at St. Domingo.—Anſ. Granted. On condition that the American ſhips, which ſhall be employed in this trade, ſhall have only one deck; and this importation ſhall be allowed only as long as it ſhall appear neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment or ſubſiſtence of the Colony, or until meaſures have been taken for putting it in this reſpect upon the ſame footing as other Engliſh Colonies; and an exact account ſhall be kept of the ſaid veſſels, with the deſcription of their cargoes, and ſhall be tranſmitted every three months to the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, as well as to one of the principal Secretaries of State; and on no account whatever ſhall any of the ſaid veſſels be allowed to take in return any production of the Colony, except molaſſes and rum.

Art. XIII.

CHAP. X. p. 147.

Art. XIII. *No part of the aforeſaid conditions ſhall be conſidered as a reſtriction to the power of the Parliament of Great Britain, to regulate and determine the Political Government of the Colony.*— Anſ. Granted.

CHAP. XI. p. 169.

CHAP. XI. p. 169.

The ſame fate awaited Lieutenant Colonel Markham, &c.

I CANNOT deny myſelf the melancholy ſatisfaction of preſerving in this work the following honourable tribute to the memory of this amiable officer, which was given out in general orders after his death, by the Commander in Chief.

Head Quarters, 28 March 1795.

Brigadier General Horneck begs the officers, non-commiſſioned officers, and privates of the detachment, which, on the 26th Inſt. proceeded under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Markham, on a party of obſervation, to receive his very ſincere thanks for their gallant behaviour, at the attack of the enemy's advanced poſt; taking their colours and cannon, and deſtroying their ſtores.

At the ſame time he cannot ſufficiently expreſs his feelings on the late afflicting loſs, that has been ſuſtained in Lieutenant Colonel Markham; who, equally excellent and meritorious as an officer and a man, lived univerſally reſpected and beloved, and died

died leaving a bright example of military, ſocial, and private virtue. CHAP. XI. p. 169.

The Brigadier General likewiſe requeſts Captains Martin and Wilkinſon, of the Royal Navy, to receive his acknowledgments and thanks, for the important aſſiſtance they have afforded; not only on this occaſion alone, but on every other, wherein his Majeſty's ſervice has required their co-operation. He alſo begs Captain Martin to do him the favour, to impart the like acknowledgments to the officers of the Royal Navy, and to the reſpective ſhips companies under his command, for the zeal and good conduct they have ſhewn whenever employed.

1104905